

Antoine Édouard Foleÿ's *Eki*
(Paris: 1874)

A critical bilingual edition

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ABSTRACT

Antoine Édouard Foley (1820-1901) was stationed at the French naval base of Akaroa, New Zealand, from 1843 to 1846. In 1874, he published in Paris a short work of fiction, *Eki*, which is largely narrated by a Maori woman from Banks Peninsula on the South Island of New Zealand who tells the story of her family.

The work is of interest for what it has to say about Maori life before large-scale British colonisation of New Zealand began and for its attempt, unusual in nineteenth-century French or English fiction, to describe the world from the point of view of a Maori woman. Foley was a scientist, naval officer and doctor who was greatly influenced by his close friend, the Positivist, Auguste Comte, and this is seen in his views on the evolution of human cultures, expressed here and in a number of other published works, including articles in anthropological and ethnological journals. He had also read and partly translated George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, which is a major influence on the writing of *Eki*.

This is not an exotic, orientalist novel depicting another culture from the outside, but an anti-colonial work which sets out to express what it is like to be a Maori woman. A young Frenchman, Édouard, is her pupil as he learns about Maori ways while Eki, the heroine, confident of her own traditional Maori values and beliefs, performs the civilising role that Comte attributed to women.

The thesis presents a corrected text of the 1874 Parisian edition of *Eki*, along with an annotated translation into English. Analytical chapters place *Eki* in the context of Foley's life, his other published works, Comtean thought, traditional oral literature and nineteenth-century fiction, and traditional Maori culture. References cited in the text or footnotes are listed at the end.

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INTRODUCTION

Eki is a novel set among the Maori of Banks Peninsula, New Zealand, in the early nineteenth century and was published in Paris in 1874 by a Frenchman of Irish ancestry, Antoine Edouard Foley. It is largely narrated by the heroine, Eki, a Maori woman who is the daughter, wife and mother of Banks Peninsula chiefs.

Foley was a man of many talents. A graduate of France's most prestigious science university, the École Polytechnique, Foley had joined the navy and it was as a junior naval officer that he had spent four years (1842-46) away from France in the Pacific, based at the French naval station in Akaroa. After rising quickly to the rank of lieutenant, Foley decided to leave the navy and train as a doctor at the École de médecine in Paris. While practising as a doctor in and near Paris, Foley frequented the progressive intelligentsia of his day, becoming a close friend of the leading Positivist philosopher, Auguste Comte, and of the leader of the Saint-Simonians, Prosper Enfantin, as well as continuing his friendships with his former naval colleagues, who included the artist, Charles Meryon. Foley was one of four men whom Comte contemplated as possible successors to himself as leader of the Positivist school. Foley was elected a member of the Société d'anthropologie in Paris and participated very fully in its learned discussions and presented his own papers at its meetings. He was invited to give lectures at the École Polytechnique and elsewhere, and there is every sign that he was politically very active, although this side of his life has not been fully explored and documented.

Foley was quite a prolific writer. Although he also wrote on medical and political topics, his experiences in the Pacific were the starting-point for a number of ethnographic or anthropological books and articles. He was fitting the observations he had made as a naval officer in the 1840s into a theoretical framework provided by Auguste Comte's view of the progress of human societies. *Eki* is unusual, then, in his output in being a work of fiction, even if it can be called anthropological fiction.

A novel written by an anthropologist with first-hand knowledge of the Maori of Banks Peninsula can have considerable interest for a New Zealand reader today. *Eki* is set in a very precise location, around the lakes of Wairewa (Lake Forsyth) and Waihora (Lake Ellesmere). Sometime in the 1840s and before the arrival of the first systematic British settlement of the

area, Eki is telling the story of her family to two Frenchmen. The Canterbury Association started work on the port of Lyttelton in 1849, and the first four ships with settlers for the city of Christchurch arrived in 1850. Eki's story goes back to well before the 1840s as it covers several generations of her family and is almost entirely about Maori life before contact with Europeans.

How reliable is Foley's testimony of Maori life? One has to look beyond the text of the book to find out that Foley had lived on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s. He was stationed there as a junior officer on a French warship, the *Rhin*, from January 1843 until April 1846. The ship was there to look after the interests of the small group of French settlers who had landed in Akaroa in 1840. Although he published *Eki* nearly thirty years after his return to France from New Zealand, Foley had at hand the personal diary he had kept during a voyage which remained a major reference point in his life and the text of *Eki* provides convincing evidence that Foley knew the places that he talks about and that he was an intelligent first-hand observer of Maori life.

Moreover, he was a trained scientist and doctor who took a deep interest in anthropology and ethnography, rubbed shoulders with the most eminent people in these fields as a member of the Société d'anthropologie in Paris, gave learned papers on Pacific cultures to the society and, presumably, read quite widely on the subject. His colleagues at the Société d'anthropologie clearly indicated that they assumed that all the members of the society had read Cook's voyages, for example. We know that he translated stories from George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* into French, publishing them in the first volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie* in 1866. It seems certain that Foley also read a number of other books on New Zealand and the Maori, but this is the only one he refers to explicitly in his published work. Foley, then, had several years of first-hand experience of life on Banks Peninsula and he subsequently read a major anthology of Maori literature and must have read other books on New Zealand and on Polynesia as well. This prepared him well for a remarkably reliable depiction of Maori culture in *Eki*.

At the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century, French explorers, including Dumont d'Urville and his officers, had written extensively and scientifically about New Zealand, bringing back samples of New Zealand rocks, introducing new species of plants and animals to European science and providing valuable information on pre-colonial Maori life. *Eki*, however, is not a scientific treatise, although it does describe

what the Banks Peninsula landscape looked like before intensive European farming and logging, and uses the names of Maori people who were living there in the 1840s. It is the first French novel set in New Zealand to be published. In fact, very few novels had been written about life in New Zealand before 1874, even in English, and they had been about British settlers, with any Maori people being typically in the background as part of the exotic scenery.

Eki differs from these novels and from the scientific treatises in the way it tries to describe Maori life from the inside. Maori are not seen from the outside as exotic and different, but from the inside as people with a coherent and complex culture. Showing no sign of having been influenced by Christian missionaries, the main characters make no apologies for their traditional beliefs, asserting them proudly and defiantly. *Eki* has no sense of European decorum, the principal male characters are warriors in all aspects of their lives and cannibalism is seen as a normal part of the process of defeating one's enemies. At a time when it was also very unusual to have a female narrator in French novels, *Eki* breaks new ground.

It is not just the content of the characters' lives which is Maori, with its inter-tribal warfare, its respect for tapu or its belief in the continuing coexistence of the living and the dead; it is also the vocabulary, the rhythms and the narrative structure. In her imagery, *Eki* systematically uses features of New Zealand life, especially its fauna and flora. (When Chateaubriand used a North American Indian narrator, it was a man who had been educated in Europe and was acquainted with the classical world of Greece and Rome.) The rhythms of *Eki*'s speech can imitate those of Maori waiata and the disconcerting ellipses of her narrative are arguably what Foley had observed in Maori story-telling. She even recounts a myth about Maui which is not recorded elsewhere and which is told in such a way that it may either be authentic or, on the other hand, may show that Foley knew enough about Maori myths to be able to create his own and be convincing. Aspects of the work that can be seen as merely bizarre and eccentric can also be viewed as part of an ambitious attempt to use the forms and concepts of pre-contact Maori oral literature.

Foley comes to the writing of this book with his own set of beliefs which are given to the less important of the two French characters, Antoine, who, for the most part, remains quietly in the background while the more ebullient Édouard reacts spontaneously to what is happening around him. It is largely, as we shall see, the influence of Comtean Positivism that leads Foley

to view the contribution of the warlike Maori to the progress of mankind in a very positive light.

Eki has been recorded in Bagnall's standard *New Zealand National Bibliography*, where it is described as: "Novel, with some semi-autobiographical content, based on Maori myths and legends of Banks Peninsula". However, it does not appear in any of the histories of New Zealand fiction, although, after Dr Peter Maling drew his attention to it, Peter Tremewan mentioned it in *French Akaroa* and wrote two brief articles on it.¹ Much of the primary material used in this thesis was collected by Peter Tremewan when he was preparing his book on Akaroa and the present translation and study also builds on the work of Jenny Maclean who wrote an annotated English translation in 1993 as a research paper for her BA (Hons) in French at the University of Canterbury. A considerable amount of new material has come to light since then, particularly about Foley's life and other works. Foley's correspondence with Comte and Enfantin has been located in Paris archives and copies of all his known published works, including his lectures and less formal contributions to the Société d'anthropologie, have been obtained and read. His domestic and professional life has been traced through registers of births, deaths and marriages and an ancestor's very relevant army records have been uncovered in the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes. This thesis is an attempt at a systematic and extended analysis and, at the same time, an improved translation into English makes it accessible to a wider New Zealand reading public.²

Because the original French edition is not readily available, the thesis begins with a copy of the French text of *Eki* in which the misprints of the Paris 1874 edition have been corrected. This provides page numbers for the various textual and contextual analyses that follow. An annotated English translation concludes the main body of the thesis. It is hoped that, by then, the analytic chapters will have greatly enhanced the reader's understanding and appreciation of Foley's work after the initial bewilderment of confronting the French text. The structure of the thesis is aimed at showing how an informed understanding of Foley's aims can make the reading process much more rewarding.

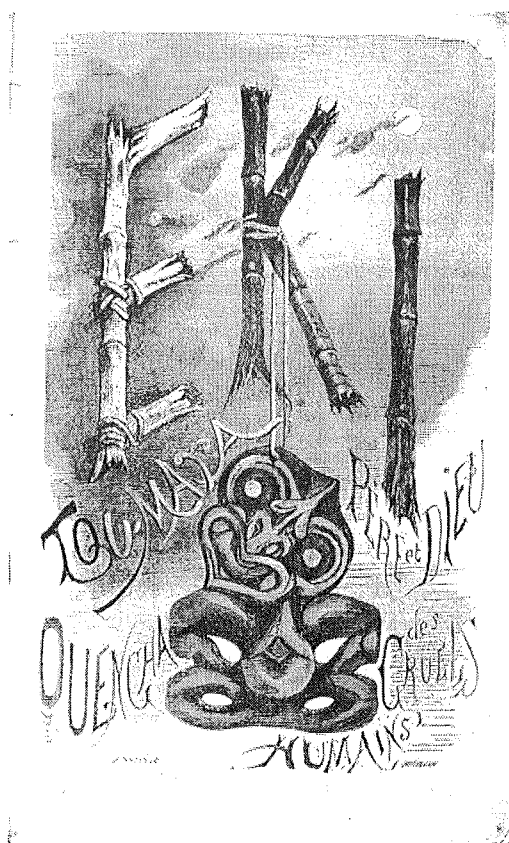
¹ P Tremewan. *French Akaroa*, 1990, pp.245-6; "French Eye-Witness Accounts of Banks Peninsula Maoris, 1838-1846. No. 3: Antoine Edouard Foley", *Te Karanga*, I, 4 (Feb. 1986) 5-11; "A French Novelist in Canterbury: Foley and his novel, *Eki*", *Antipodes*, 6 (2000) 52-8.

² In addition to Jenny Maclean's work, two other, rather inadequate manuscript English translations exist, one in the Alexander Turnbull Library (purchased by auction in 1973), the other in Dr PB Maling's private collection in Christchurch.

THE FRENCH TEXT

The first edition

The first and sole French edition of *Eki* was published in Paris in 1874. The outside cover has the title, *ÉKI*, and the date. The title-page has *EKI* in large capitals (without an accent this time) and then, in much smaller letters, *TOU-MATA OUENGHA PÈRE et DIEU des CRUELS HUMAINS*. This has been taken, not as rounding out the title, but as identifying the tiki that appears on the bottom half of the page, suspended by a cord from the bamboo lettering of *EKI*.



The engraved title-page is signed PROGIN SC, ie Progin sculpsit, Progin engraved it. Henri Lucien Progin (1847-1882) was a landscape artist and 'dessinateur'. The name on the right of the page is clearly MAGELLAN. Although no artist of this name appears in standard reference books, Progin presumably worked from a drawing by a man called Magellan. Behind the tiki there is water. This merges into the sky in the top half of the page and either the sun or the moon appears as a disk

above the I of EKI. Clouds in the sky make it possible to imagine a large bird soaring through the sky.

There are 148 pages. The printer's name and address appear in small type at the bottom of page 148: "Paris.—Typ. de E. BRIERE, 237, rue Saint-Honoré." The back cover has the same information: "Paris—Imprimerie de E. Brière rue Saint-Honoré, 237", along with a list and brief description of the "Ouvrages du même Auteur". Seven of them are listed, including "EKI.—Chez les principaux libraires." No differences have been noted in the texts held by different libraries.

The principles followed in the text of this edition

In general the text of the 1874 edition has been followed here. I have worked from a photocopy of the text held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The short paragraphs, the grouping of these paragraphs and the heavy use of commas and semi-colons have been retained. Care has been taken to retain the original version of proper names and Maori words, even when this varies within the text (Ticao, Tikao; taio, taïo; moa, moà). The occasional but inconsistent use of *s* in the plural of Maori words has been kept, along with Foley's consistent spelling of Mahouri for Maori. Despite the use of an acute accent on the outside cover, the heroine's name is spelt Eki, without an acute accent, on the title-page and throughout the 1874 text, so that is the spelling that has been retained here.

Foley has followed French spelling conventions in using *ou* where English precedent has imposed a *u* in written New Zealand Maori (patou-patou, Maoui, atoua). Similarly, he can use a *v* where the English use *w* (kivi). He often prefers a *c* to a *k* in Maori words (toco-toco, Ticao). A capital letter has been given to 'pigeon-bay', and to 'mahouri' on the one occasion when it has a small initial letter even though it is being used as a noun.

Some clear typographical errors have been corrected:

d'eux	deux
vielle	vieille
ernier	dernier
vengence	vengeance
viellesse	vieillesse

vieil
 excécrable
 done-moi
 mère
 ils se prosterne
 pour qu'il devint
 vos brandous
 Qu'elle est cette pirogue
 je viens accomplirs
 languissent
 ennemî

vieil
 exécration
 donne-moi
 mère
 il se prosterne
 pour qu'il devînt
 vos brandons
 Quelle est cette pirogue
 je viens accomplir
 languissent
 ennemi

A few spellings have been modernised:

Irlandois
 la pane
 col [in the sense of neck]
 nazillard
 paye
 penon
 hiéroglyphes
 poème
 rhapsodes
 quelques fois
 pous
 entammer

Irlandais
 la panne
 cou
 nasillard
 pagaie
 penon
 hiéroglyphes
 poème
 rhapsodes
 quelquefois
 poux
 entamer

Modern usage of hyphens has been preferred:

très-[adjective/adverb]
 au delà
 prime-abord
 au dessous
 au devant
 jusque là
 sacrifiez lui
 tout-à-l'heure
 tout-à-fait
 quasi-debout

très [adjective/adverb]
 au-delà
 prime abord
 au-dessous
 au-devant
 jusque-là
 sacrifiez-lui
 tout à l'heure
 tout à fait
 quasi debout

Accents, often used inconsistently, have been regularised:

delivrer
 pécheur
 goëland

délivrer
 pêcheur
 goéland

boîteux	boiteux
maitre	maître
soul	soûl
paraît	paraît
abîmé	abîmé
baillant	bâillant
teter	téter
trainer	traîner
crête	crête
cortège	cortège
enchevêtré	enchevêtré
protège	protège
siège	siège
frêle	frêle
les rales	les râles
prêtent	prêtent

A final -s in some imperative singulars of -er verbs has been removed:

vas	va
gardes	garde

For the most part, the rather idiosyncratic punctuation has been left untouched, with just a few exceptions:

In manus tuas «Domine, commendo spiritum meum.»	« In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.» (13)
Avez-vous vu les petits nestors.	Avez-vous vu les petits nestors? (28)
trois, quatre cinq ans	trois, quatre, cinq ans (32)
Qui maintenant nous sauvera.	Qui maintenant nous sauvera? (57)

The number of points of suspension has been regularised and quotation marks have not been repeated at the beginning of every line within direct speech.

One substantive change has been made to the text in a sentence which would otherwise not make sense: “la terreur que, personnellement, il empire” has been corrected to “la terreur que, personnellement, il inspire” (41).

The French text is given without explanatory footnotes. The latter may be found in the English translation later in the thesis.

EKI

DÉDICACE

À MADAME FÉLICIE GUILLAUME

CHÈRE ET BIEN CHÈRE AMIE,

Sans vous, je n'aurais jamais eu comme protecteurs Prosper Enfantin et Adolphe Jullien; permettez-moi donc, en cette dédicace, de rapprocher leurs noms du vôtre.

Dr A.-E. FOLEÏ

INTRODUCTION

LE DOCTEUR ANTOINE À MAITRE A + B

Nouvelle-Zélande, presqu'île de Bancks,
baie d'Akaroa, janvier 184...

Merci, mon cher ami, merci de m'avoir confié ton pupille. Sa légèreté m'amuse et son expansion me fait du bien. Ce m'est un précieux compagnon de voyage.

Le croirais-tu, après cinq mois d'intimité parfaite, il en est encore à ne pas soupçonner notre conspiration.

Tête folle; mais cœur d'or. Viennent les ans et ce sera un fameux homme.
Je te serre la main.

DR ANTOINE

EDOUARD À MAÎTRE A + B

Akaroa, janvier 184...

MON CHER ET BON TUTEUR,

Acceptez, je vous en supplie, ma procuration générale; reprenez l'administration de ma fortune; pardonnez-moi ma conduite plus que légère; et rendez-moi votre tendresse.

Encore une folie, direz-vous, en me voyant si raisonnable! Non. Grâce au guide, à l'ami, au maître que le hasard m'a donné; je suis guéri: et pour toujours.

Laissez-moi vous le faire connaître; et, partant, vous le faire aimer: vous croirez mieux à ma sagesse.

Vénération et dévouement.

EDOUARD

P.S. — Ci-joint son histoire.

Mon grand-père, Irlandais catholique, natif de Clamore, comté de Wattersfort, était un bon, un intrépide soldat, toujours furieux en temps de paix, toujours impassible en temps de guerre.

La consigne et le serment étaient, à ses yeux, les deux choses les plus sacrées. Aussi se mourait-il d'ennui et de fidélité auprès des Stuarts réfugiés en France; quand ces princes imaginèrent de congédier un défenseur inutile, en l'autorisant à servir l'étranger. L'étranger, c'est-à-dire le roi Louis XV.

Il se fit donc, malgré son âge un peu avancé, cavalier au régiment de Fitz-James; franchit assez rapidement les bas grades; et devint cornette.

Malheureusement, à la bataille de Fontenoy, la fortune le trahit, par ses prodigalités mêmes; car les conséquences de sa belle conduite étant que Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne signa, du même coup, son triple brevet de lieutenant, de noble et d'invalidé; l'infortuné militaire, manchot du bras droit et mutilé de la main gauche, dut s'acheminer tristement, vers l'hôtel des héros.

Ses malheurs obtinrent alors ce que n'avait pu sa beauté virile. La commisération aidant, ma grand'mère surmonta son horreur pour les jurons; et, l'amant qu'elle avait repoussé dans sa pleine vigueur, elle l'épousa infirme.

Dévouement louable, mais inutile! Les soins éclairés de cette femme généreuse ne pouvaient retenir, en ce monde, un homme qui, malgré ses blessures et la goutte, ne rêvait que champ de bataille.

Il mourut donc; et laissa pour toute fortune, à sa veuve, un enfant presque chétif.

La pauvre femme accepta noblement ce triste héritage; et, caressant, en son fils, le souvenir d'un amour tardif, mais profondément senti, fit de mon père un homme énergique, instruit et affable. De hautes protections lui ouvrirent la carrière diplomatique; et son mérite fit le reste.

Jeune encore, il était secrétaire d'ambassade à Madrid, quand ma grand'mère tomba mortellement malade. C'était en 1789.

Revenu, en toute hâte, à Paris, avec la jeune Espagnole qu'il venait d'épouser, il ferma les yeux à mon aïeule; rompit sa carrière; et, comme tant d'autres, se lança dans le mouvement révolutionnaire.

Le grand Danton fut son chef. Ils périrent ensemble.

Après cette épouvantable catastrophe, ma mère, sans ramasser le peu de fortune que nous avions, revint à Madrid. La misère et le chagrin minèrent, assez vite, sa riche et belle constitution. A huit ou neuf ans, je la perdis.

Elle s'éteignit en m'embrassant.

Pauvre, seul, et tout petit, qu'allais-je devenir?

Les dominicains m'offrirent un asile; et, dans l'expansion de ma reconnaissance enfantine, sans me comprendre, je fis serment de me vouer à la Vierge.

Durant de longues années, les espérances de mes protecteurs et les miennes furent amplement satisfaites. Mais, avec l'âge, le doute vint; et, derrière lui, les inquiétudes et les angoisses.

Je finis par tant souffrir que j'avouai tout à mon directeur.

C'était un homme vénérable, saint, trois fois saint; un vieil officier, savant et habile, dont le cœur et le corps avaient été lacérés pendant ses longues campagnes.

Orphelin de ses enfants, sur le déclin de sa vie, comme je l'étais de mes parents, à l'aurore de la mienne; il était venu demander, au cloître et surtout à Dieu, des consolations ... à de peines inconsolables.

Ah, que nous nous aimions tendrement!

Mon aveu fait; il m'examina longuement, très longuement, à diverses reprises; et changea mes études.

Cinq ou six ans durant, nous ne parlâmes plus que de science.

Puis, un soir, il me fit habiller en laïque; me fit signe de le suivre; ouvrit la porte du couvent; mit sous mon bras quelques provisions; dans ma main plusieurs piécettes; et, les yeux pleins de larmes, dit, en me couvrant de baisers:

«Cher enfant, mieux vaut un bon citoyen qu'un mauvais moine! Va, rejoins ce petit détachement que tu vois là-bas. Ce sont des Français!

Je t'ai mis en tête plus de science qu'il n'en faut pour vivre; et tu as au cœur assez de bonté pour être heureux.

Souviens-toi toujours de ta mère et du vieux dominicain.

Ne porte jamais les armes contre l'Espagne.

Dans ce dernier baiser, reçois ma bénédiction. Adieu!»

Et il disparut.

Un instant, je m'agenouillai sur le seuil de cette demeure hospitalière, que j'arrosai de mes larmes. J'embrassai, avec ferveur, ces murs qui m'avaient vu si paisible, quand l'Europe entière n'était que sang et flammes; et, recueillant mes forces et mon courage, je courus, pour la première fois de ma vie, implorer la protection de mes compatriotes.

J'arrive auprès d'eux. Le commandant m'interroge, et me voilà son domestique.

Oh, l'exécrable chose que la guerre!

Chassés, battus, traqués comme des bêtes fauves, courant de honte en honte, de défaite en défaite, et réduits à moins de moitié; nous atteignons la frontière.

Pauvre France! Plus épuisée cent fois que vingt-deux ans auparavant, tu n'avais plus alors, pour tes fils, vaincus à leur tour, qu'un seul asile, non violé encore: Paris!

La foule des fuyards m'y entraîna.
 Qu'y pouvais-je être? Valet de chambre; rien autre!
 Cinq jours, mendiant une place, j'allai frappant de porte en porte. Un médecin m'ouvrit la sienne.

La première fois que je le vis; il écrivait.
 Que sais-tu faire? dit-il, sans me regarder et du ton brusque d'une personne qu'on dérange fort mal à propos.
 Rien! répondis-je.
 Alors que sais-tu? répliqua-t-il en commençant à s'impatienter.
 — Hélas! je sais le latin et l'espagnol (mieux que le français, je l'avoue), beaucoup de mathématiques, pas mal de physique, et tant soit peu de chimie.

Comme je parlais, il leva la tête; darda, sur moi, ses petits yeux brillants et fauves; les y tint longtemps fixés; et me renvoya dans l'antichambre.

J'attendis cinq heures. J'avais faim!

Quand je rentrai dans son cabinet, le docteur était d'un côté de la cheminée; sa femme, de l'autre; et une chaise m'attendait entre eux deux.

Si jamais, en ma vie, je fus examiné, questionné, tourné, retourné, ce fut certes cette fois-là.

Fatigués de ne rien comprendre à mes réponses, ils finirent par me demander mon histoire.

Je la leur contai d'abondance et restai chez eux.

Je devins successivement copiste, étudiant et docteur; puis secrétaire, substitut et collaborateur de mon maître; enfin, avec le temps, plus encore.
 Voici comment.

Mes protecteurs avaient un seul enfant: une fille, non pas incontestablement belle, mais ravissante certainement.

Démarche, traits, gestes, regards, timbre de voix, tout, en elle, était si doux et si bon, si simple et si gracieux, si pur, si calme, si résigné (pour ainsi dire), qu'on eût dit un ange empressé de procurer, aux autres, les ravissantes sensations d'un monde parfait et trop justement regretté.

Chose étrange! Dès notre première entrevue, cette enfant si bienveillante pour tout le monde, cette enfant, qu'immédiatement j'adorai, ne fut pour moi que dure et dédaigneuse!

Et, chose plus étrange encore, ceux qui me comblaient de faveurs m'en parurent presque joyeux.

Les timides efforts que je tentai, pendant quelques mois, pour surmonter cette inconcevable répulsion, ne firent qu'augmenter le mal. J'acceptai donc ce peu de haine, comme le juste contre-poids de mon adoption imméritée. J'évitai scrupuleusement toute rencontre, et, dissimulant toute émotion ainsi que tout plaisir et toute peine, je vécus, avare impénétrable, en caressant le secret que j'avais précieusement enfoui au fond de mon cœur.

Étais-je heureux? Oui, mille fois oui!

L'organisme de la famille ressemble à celui de l'individu. Son propre développement exige-t-il une transformation; immédiatement ses divers organes, père, mère, enfants et domestiques éprouvent une modification nerveuse, qui leur communique des allures toutes nouvelles. Alors a lieu la crise. Une fois le progrès accompli, les santés morales et matérielles se rétablissent, et chacun rentre dans ses errements habituels.

Ce malaise de croissance, dont l'analogue tourmente les peuples eux-mêmes; moi aussi j'en ai souffert. Voici comment:

Dans les délicieuses causeries, que le docteur et moi faisions si fréquemment le soir, la conversation devint successivement languissante, difficile et pénible. Successivement la science, la politique et même la religion perdirent le pouvoir d'éveiller sa verve auparavant si gaie, si aimable et si instructive. Arrivèrent alors les réticences, les demi-mots et finalement les reproches.

Bref, je devins un être à charge à tout le monde, un ami perfide, un traître odieux continuellement embarrassant et surtout (surtout!) continuellement embarrassé.

Enfin l'explosion eut lieu.

«— Cher et vénéré maître» ... dis-je, un soir, à mon protecteur (je croyais le moment bien choisi!) ... «si j'ai pu vous offenser d'une manière quelconque, si ...»

— M'offenser, fit-il en me perçant de son regard, m'offenser! ... Que ne l'avez-vous fait, le premier jour où vous vîntes ici!... Que ne me donnâtes-vous, une fois au moins, un prétexte de vous éloigner!

Comme je me levais pour sortir, il me retint et poursuivit:

«— Enfant ingrat, pourrais-tu donc nous quitter ainsi?... Écoute, il s'agit de ma fille, de ma chère... de ma seule enfant!... Elle avait quelques jours seulement... Un accident affreux me força de tout oser: elle vécut. Elle vit! mais une cicatrice horrible lui défend à tout jamais d'être mère.

Eh bien, malgré tous mes efforts... malgré toutes ses perfections: sa bonté ineffable réclame une affection plus jeune, plus intime et... surtout plus dévouée que la nôtre.

Oh! mon cher enfant! N'est-il pas vrai que donner pour but fatal au mariage la perpétuité de l'espèce... ne serait que bestialiser la plus noble des institutions humaines?

N'est-il pas vrai que la meilleure comme la plus belle mission de la femme... c'est d'améliorer le cœur de l'homme, de guider et grandir ses pensées, par ce qu'elle-même a de meilleur et de plus... chaste au cœur? N'est-il pas vrai?...»

Il pleurait, en me parlant de la sorte. Il pleurait et me serrait la main!

Et moi troublé, anéanti par sa douleur extrême; je n'osais pas le comprendre!

Alors, m'attirant sur son cœur, il ajouta, en m'embrassant pour elle: «*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*»

Oh! mon très cher maître, fis-je enfin, et toi mon excellente et malheureuse mère, et vous noble et vénérable dominicain... précieux anges gardiens de ma jeunesse; je vous le jure: le vœu de mon enfance, je le tiendrai toute ma vie.

Deux mois après, j'étais marié; et nous partions, ma femme et moi.

Nos parents nous avaient imposé cet exil provisoire, pour que nous fussions mieux immédiatement l'un à l'autre.

Devrais-je l'avouer, nous les quittâmes presque avec joie. Hélas! nous ignorions alors la rude école de la vie réelle.

La curiosité provinciale nous accueillit avec empressement. Ses mille mesquines petitesse nous repoussèrent plus vite encore. Bientôt donc, nous fûmes contraints de vivre exclusivement heureux l'un par l'autre.

A cette époque, tout fermentait en France. La révolution, dont 1830 avait été le prélude, faisait effort pour se formuler. Après deux ans, la question sociale (éludée par les uns et méconnue par les autres) se posait enfin carrément à Paris et surtout à Lyon, par cet affreux dilemme: *Vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant*.

Ce nouveau nœud gordien de nos sociétés modernes; le sabre et les tribunaux le tranchèrent cette fois-là comme tant d'autres. Les codifications politiques et religieuses du monde industriel et libéral furent une fois de plus ajournées; et les vieux débris du régime féodal revinrent au pouvoir, en changeant de nom.

Malheureusement, tout ne finit pas là!

Le découragement et le désespoir accablèrent, après la défaite, les quelques bourgeois et les innombrables prolétaires qui, depuis quinze ans, poursuivaient un avenir meilleur; et, quelques variations atmosphériques aidant, on vit, comme à toutes les grandes époques de calamités politiques, un fléau terrible s'abattre sur tous ces êtres déçus dans leurs aspirations les plus chères.

Passons rapidement sur ces journées cruelles pour tant de familles. La mienne, hélas! fut anéantie. Mon beau-père paya, de sa vie, son généreux empressement à soulager les autres; sa femme ne put lui survivre, et ce double malheur causa la mort de la mienne.

J'ai, dit-on, accompagné, jusqu'à leur dernière demeure, ces trois perfections humaines. Je n'en ai aucun souvenir. Six mois entiers, j'ai vécu sans rien comprendre.

Enfin, la raison me revint, lentement, très lentement. Son premier retour me fit mal. Mon égoïsme, réveillé tout d'abord, me faisait voir la solitude pour le restant de mes jours, et la solitude m'effrayait.

Que faire, pensais-je en moi-même, devant le néant du cœur.

Que faire? Et cette question si simple, mon intelligence encore engourdie ne pouvait la résoudre.

Chaque fois que la mort, sinon son odieux inventeur, m'avait persécuté; l'élite de l'humanité m'avait recueilli, gâté même.

J'avais passé toute ma vie dans le monde le plus pur, le plus chaste et le meilleur qui se pût voir. Toute ma vie, j'avais, à pleins bords, savouré les délices de l'intimité; toute ma vie, enivré par elle, j'avais ignoré l'avenir.

Toute ma vie enfin, soupçonnant à peine qu'il est un but plus noble que celui de vivre tranquille, un horizon plus vaste que celui de la famille, et des émotions, sinon plus douces du moins plus vibrantes que celles du concert domestique; j'avais imité la chenille paresseuse, mangeant, dormant, virant sur ma bien aimée feuille hospitalière, et ne rêvant qu'une chose: me rouler pour toujours en elle et pour toujours m'y ensevelir.

Hélas! comme toute chrysalide, je devais avoir mon réveil: et ce réveil, diamétralement contraire à mon existence passée, était de ne vivre désormais que pour les autres; moi qui, toujours, n'avais existé que par eux.

Que faire? pensai-je donc. Et, vaincu par le désespoir, et désireux surtout de ne pas altérer la pureté, chaque jour plus adorable, des images renaissantes de ceux qui m'avaient tout donné; je m'efforçais de ne point me répondre.

Mais eux, toujours plus généreux pour moi que moi-même, me sauvèrent une dernière fois, en me disant, d'un commun accord:

«Ce que nous ne pouvons plus faire nous-mêmes; fais-le, en notre lieu et place.»

Depuis ce temps, parce que ma vie n'est plus mienne; elle m'est devenue plus chère et plus précieuse que jamais.

Les maux que m'offre le présent, je les soulage au nom de ceux que j'adore; et ceux que semble nous réserver l'avenir, je travaille à les prévenir, au lieu et place des hommes généreux qui m'ont transmis tout leur savoir.

En parcourant la terre; en étudiant notre espèce, dans tous ses climats, dans toutes ses formes et dans tous ses âges sociaux, afin d'être à même de la délivrer enfin de nos deux grands fléaux modernes le révolutionnarisme et le choléra; je vis donc aussi utile et aussi heureux ... que je peux l'être!

Ce disant, mon noble maître, baissant la voix de plus en plus, finit, par ne plus me parler; et se mit, comme tous les soirs il fait, à réciter cette courte prière:

O vous, qui m'ordonnez de vivre; aidez-moi à me résigner: purifiez de toute amertume mes trop légitimes regrets; et léguez-moi toutes vos vertus, pour que je puisse vous remplacer.

Vinrent alors (comme d'eux-mêmes, sur ses lèvres), ces admirables vers du grand Corneille:

Fais, Seigneur, que mon désir
N'ait pour but invariable
Que ce que ton bon plaisir
Aura de plus agréable,
Que ce qu'il voudra choisir.

Que ton vouloir soit le mien,
Que le mien toujours le suive
Et s'y conforme si bien,
Qu'ici-bas, quoi qu'il arrive,
Sans toi, je ne veuille rien.

Fais-le toujours prévaloir
Sur quoi que je me propose,
Et mets hors de mon pouvoir
De vouloir aucune chose
Que ce qu'il te plaît vouloir.

LE GRAND LAC

EDOUARD À MAÎTRE A + B

Nouvelle Zélande — Trois îles principales — Au Nord, Ika-na-Maoui, la moyenne en étendue — Au Sud, Stéwart, la plus petite — Entre elles deux, Taouaï-Pounamou, la plus grande — Le détroit de Cook, au Nord, et celui de Foveau, au Sud, séparent cette dernière île des deux autres — Sur sa côte orientale se trouvent, vers son tiers moyen, la presqu'île de Bancks, le petit (tout petit) lac et le grand.

CHER ET BON TUTEUR,

Le récit que j'ai à vous faire exige que vous connaissiez, tout d'abord, la vaste plaine sauvage, moitié marais et moitié prairie, qu'on nomme ici le Grand Lac.

Permettez donc que je vous la montre, comme nous l'avons vue et surtout comme elle nous a impressionnés, mon noble maître et moi.

C'est l'après-midi. Le jour est aussi beau que possible. Nous sommes assis, tous deux, au sommet du piton le plus méridional de la presqu'île de Bancks. Et, tantôt causant, tantôt regardant cet immense théâtre d'une partie des événements, que je tiens à vous raconter, nous admirons sa majesté merveilleuse, en nous laissant dominer par elle.

Sur notre gauche, la mer s'enfuit à perte de vue. Sur notre droite et devant nous, les alpes Néo-Zélandaises dressent leurs cimes gigantesques, éternellement couvertes de neige. Dans l'air, les crêtes blanches de leurs montagnes se découpent en festons bizarres, sur le bleu du ciel; et, sous nos pieds, le grand lac déroule son immense tapis de verdure, bien au-delà du plus lointain horizon.

Une frange étroite et blanche le borde au levant. C'est l'isthme de sable qui le sépare de la mer.

Ça et là, de petites plaques et de longues bandes éclatantes émaillent sa teinte verdâtre; ce sont les flaques et les cours d'eau qui l'empêchent de n'être que prairie.

Le soleil resplendit. Ses rayons enflammés, en se brisant sur les mille et mille faces cristallines des glaciers, volcanisent les montagnes. Un diadème de feu ceint la plaine.

Les vapeurs diaphanes de son sol humide et surchauffé reflètent, en les multipliant, les fleurons étincelants de cette splendide couronne; et toutes ses images éblouissantes s'agitent, capricieuses de formes et de couleur, à chaque fois qu'une folle brise ondule la surface inégale de leurs miroirs invisibles.

En face de cette féerie grandiose, mélange inextricable de fantastique et de réel; au centre de ce monde vaste comme l'immensité, silencieux comme la tombe et tout nouveau pour moi: mon imagination ravie s'élance dans les régions du merveilleux et de l'inconnu.

A mesure qu'elle s'égare dans l'espace, elle adresse à mon esprit, qu'épuise déjà l'admiration, des questions, toujours plus nombreuses comme toujours aussi plus insolubles; et, peu à peu, voilà qu'harassée de fatigue, mon intelligence glisse mélancoliquement sur la pente du doute et du découragement.

«Que le monde est immense; et que l'homme est petit!»

«Tout nous écrase!»

«Que pouvons-nous, pauvres pygmées?»

.....

J'en étais là, quand mon très cher maître, sympathisant à mon angoisse, encadra ma pensée de réflexions en harmonie parfaite avec elle; me tira peu à peu de mon égarement; et me conduisit presque jusqu'à l'adoration des travaux de l'homme.

«Enfant (me dit-il), cette contrée, qui te paraît si belle, n'est pourtant qu'un vaste cercueil.

Au printemps, la fonte des neiges inonde cette plaine. En été, tout y est à sec. Durant l'automne, les pluies y ramènent un nouveau déluge d'eau douce: et, pendant l'hiver, les gros temps ainsi que les fortes marées, en y lançant les vagues de la mer, achèvent de tout y bouleverser.

Par le cours régulier des saisons, ou les caprices de l'atmosphère, ces nombreux marécages subissent donc des variations perpétuelles.

Donc tantôt ils regorgent; et tantôt ils sont à sec.

Donc leurs eaux douces aujourd'hui, demain, seront saumâtres; et, après demain, salées!

En un milieu aussi variable, qui pourrait longtemps vivre? Rien, n'est-ce pas?

Naître, ou mieux arriver; languir presque aussitôt; expirer peu après; et puis, immédiatement, pourrir, est, par conséquent, le sort commun des poissons, des reptiles, des coquillages et même des plantes qui s'y aventurent ou que tous les désordres cosmiques y jettent...

Eh bien; cette série de destructions, périodiques ou accidentelles, étale, sur cette plaine immense, une atmosphère continuellement empoisonnée, qui la rend presque inhabitable.

Voilà pourquoi tu n'y verras jamais que des oiseaux voyageurs, égarés peut-être dans leurs pérégrinations; des rats... et quelques misérables pêcheurs de jade, pauvres hères Mahouris que la fièvre dévore; ombres pâles et méconnaissables d'une race humaine aussi blanche et aussi belle que la nôtre...

Tel tu vois ce désert, ami; telle, aux temps primitifs de notre histoire, nos plus lointains ancêtres ont vu notre belle patrie...

Mais, quand le travail des hommes aura labouré cette terre sépulcrale; dans quelques siècles, plus tôt, peut-être, ces fondrières seront changées en riches viviers; ces cours d'eau, ce terrain, mobile et détrempé, deviendront des canaux réguliers, des routes solides, des artères vivifiantes pour l'industrie. A la place de ces roseaux et de ces joncs sauvages, il y aura des champs fertiles et de grasses prairies; au silence de la tombe succédera le bruit du travail; des villages, des villes (peut-être?) peupleront ces navrantes solitudes; et, dans une atmosphère enfin épurée, les hommes, les animaux et les plantes civilisés puiseront une santé luxuriante.

Puissent les vrais bienfaiteurs de cette contrée n'être pas méconnus, par leur postérité; comme le sont nos aïeux, par la leur!

Au dix-neuvième siècle, invoquer encore (à leur place) et (comme type social) adorer un être qui n'eut jamais ni femme, ni enfant, ni profession, ni patrie, c'est inhumain...»

Il se tut.

Pendant ce discours étrange, maintes et maintes fois interrompu; la brise du Sud-Ouest s'était levée.

Elle avait fraîchi peu à peu.

Elle allait fraîchissant toujours; et le spectacle ravissant, que nous avions eu sous les yeux, se transformait avec une rapidité miraculeuse.

L'horizon se chargeait de nuages. Le soleil baissait rapidement. Les montagnes allongeaient leurs ombres, de plus en plus grandes, sur la plaine humide: et les vapeurs qui la recouvraient, invisibles jusqu'alors, commençaient à la voiler en se condensant.

Certes, contempler le brusque revers de cette nature si mobile n'eût pas été sans charme. Mais nous n'avions déjà que trop attendu: car, à chaque instant, la brise sifflait des accents plus aigus; comme, à chaque instant aussi, la panne qu'elle chassait vers nous prenait des teintes plus sombres.

Souquons; souquons! disait mon noble maître, il faut qu'avant la fin du jour nous arrivions chez la vieille Eki.

Et nous allions pressant notre marche aérienne.

Le sentier qui nous descendait au rivage était des plus dangereux. Presque partout à pic, il suivait de si près la crête des falaises, que les mouettes, les goélands et les albatros (qui s'agitaient tout effarés dans l'espace) nous touchaient, en passant, du bout de leurs ailes.

Non, de ma vie, je n'oublierai le tournoiement perpétuel de ces oiseaux des tempêtes, leurs cris lugubres, la violence de la brise et surtout... surtout!... la hauteur vertigineuse... Oh qu'il était temps d'arriver!

D'arriver! Non pas à destination (il nous restait deux heures de marche encore), mais seulement au pied du morne, dont je vous ai parlé au début de cette lettre: ou, si mieux vous aimez, à la pointe Nord de l'isthme qui sépare le grand lac de la mer.

Maintenant que vous connaissez, *grosso modo*, et la nature et le climat de la vaste plaine qu'habite Eki; reste à vous rendre familiers et son domaine, et sa personne, et une partie de son histoire.

EKI

EDOUARD À MAÎTRE A + B

Les naturels de la Nouvelle-Zélande se disent Mahouris, comme nous nous disons Français.

Ils nomment Grigri une sorte d'amulette, qu'ils portent au cou, et Pounamou le jade, avec lequel ils la font. Elle représente un homme nu qui tire la langue. C'est Tou-Mata-Ouhenga, le père et dieu des cruels humains.

Le formium est une plante textile, ressemblant énormément à l'iris, mais 4 ou 5 fois plus grande.

Les taïpos sont des ours très rares, peut-être même détruits.

Les moas, gigantesques aptérix, sont dans le même cas. Ils avaient 15, 16 et 18 pieds de haut.

Le mot tabou est de tous ceux que vous rencontrerez, dans cette suite de récits, le plus difficile non à comprendre mais à préciser. Toute prescription religieuse est un tabou. Toute personne que les dieux enjoignent de respecter est tabouée. Toute chose, vivante ou non, dont ils interdisent l'usage, provisoirement ou pour toujours, l'est aussi.

CHER ET VÉNÉRÉ TUTEUR,

Un terrain de cinquante à soixante mètres carrés, nu, sans plante aucune et calciné par le soleil; en son milieu une hutte en dôme de trois à quatre pieds de haut; derrière elle, pour l'abriter des vents du large, un tas énorme de boue; par devant, formant cour d'honneur, une toute petite palissade; enfin, autour du tout, des touffes énormes de formium ténax, d'*arundo-australis* ou d'autres herbes de même taille: tel est le domaine d'Eki.

Cette habitation solitaire; enfoncée de deux à trois milles dans l'intérieur du grand lac, n'a qu'une défense: l'excessive difficulté, je dirais presque, la complète impossibilité de la trouver.

Eki est petite, vieille, flétrie et tout à fait défigurée par son tatouage.

Il consiste en lignes bleuâtres et parallèles, si nombreuses et surtout si teintées, qu'il semble, de prime abord, que cette malheureuse femme ait, entre les deux sourcils, un affreux trou lozangique pénétrant jusqu'en son crâne, et, autour de la bouche, deux grosses lèvres noires prêtes à dévorer leurs sœurs rouges.

Les petites croix d'azur qui surchargent son cou, ses épaules, sa poitrine, ses bras et le restant de son corps sont d'un meilleur effet. En multipliant, le plus possible, les signes nombreux de ses deuils prématurés; la douleur de cette pauvre

sauvage n'a pas du moins abouti à la répulsion, comme la vaniteuse coquetterie de sa jeunesse.

Eki a conservé le costume de ses pères. Ses cheveux, relevés à la chinoise, forment au sommet de sa tête une courte gerbe, étranglée par des tresses à sa base, mais richement épanouie à son sommet. Des mèches brunes, abondantes, soyeuses et frisées, s'en échappent de tous côtés. Malheureusement cette coiffure, gracieuse en elle-même, est ridiculement surchargée de plumes de pigeons.

Pour bijoux, Eki porte au cou un grigri de jade; et, à l'oreille gauche seulement, de longs pendants de même pierre. Son jupon est une couverture de formium, très finement tressée, mais petite, sale et presque en lambeaux: son manteau, une large pièce du même tissu, crasseuse à l'excès et démesurément grande pour elle.

Les deux coins supérieurs en sont fixés, à son épaule droite, par une longue arête de poisson; et le restant de l'étoffe, abandonné à son propre poids, tombe verticalement le long de son corps amaigri.

Tous les ornements de l'art mahouri sont accumulés sur ce vêtement royal, tressé jadis par Eki pour son noble époux.

Flocons de laine, poils de chiens et cheveux d'hommes, délicatement mariés au fil; longues franges et larges broderies marginales... tout s'y trouve.

Dans les figures géométriques, blanches, rouges ou noires qui le bordent, la finesse, la grâce et l'harmonie des couleurs sont si parfaitement combinées, que c'est vraiment plaisir de poursuivre ces dessins naïfs, sous l'épaisse couche de malpropreté qui les couvre.

Des sandales de formium, les plus élégantes qui se fassent, complètent le costume de cette femme étrange.

Tantôt Eki parle avec une volubilité presque convulsive. Tantôt elle est silencieuse et absorbée comme l'enfant qui veut comprendre un jouet nouveau.

Parfois son geste et son regard sont calmes, lents, majestueux même. Parfois, au contraire, ils ont le désordre ou mieux l'inquiétude et la mobilité de la folie.

Misère et luxe, enfantillage et dignité, torpeur et délire, désespoir et enthousiasme: tout, chez Eki, est excessif; mais, chez elle, la bonté prime tout.

L'aventure suivante, mieux qu'une plus longue description, achèvera, j'espère, de vous la dépeindre.

J'avais mis Eki hors d'elle-même, par mon indifférence à ses discours, mon aversion trop crue pour l'huile de baleine dont elle se graisse, ma négligence à lui prêter ma pipe, ou tout autre méfait.

Bref, elle croyait me devoir une leçon; et me la servit: voici comment.

Se levant, elle se planta devant moi; retroussa tous ses vêtements; et pivotant lentement sur elle-même, en me touchant presque, me força de la parfaitement examiner.

Tout ébaubi; je regardais encore le riche tatouage incrusté sur son bas-ventre, ses hanches, ses fesses et le haut de ses cuisses; quand reprenant sa position première, elle me dit, avec une impétuosité qui touchait presque à la fureur:

«Eki est fille de chef!
Eki est femme de chef!
Eki est mère de chef!

Les Mahouris suçaient la fougère, et les Moas mangeaient les anguilles!
Mopou a tué les Moas, et les Mahouris mangent les anguilles.

Les Taïpos régnaient dans la plaine, et le jade était pour eux!
Mopou a tué les Taïpos, et le jade est pour les Mahouris.

Mopou était un hardi chasseur!
Eki est sa fille.

Akaroa, le trois fois taboué, a conquis la presqu'île.
Eki est sa bru.

Akaroa, le chef aux six doigts, régnait sur terre et sur mer, au Nord et au Midi.
Eki est sa femme.

Akaroa, le bel enfant aux yeux bleus...
Eki est sa mère.

Eki est sa mère! Et elle le pleure comme elle a pleuré son père.
Eki est sa mère! Et elle le pleure comme elle a pleuré son époux.
Elle le pleure! Car le mal des étrangers, les blanquettes (les Mahouris nomment ainsi les couvertures de laine blanche), et l'eau de feu ont tué le bel enfant d'Eki.»

Sa voix était devenue lente et plaintive, en prononçant ces derniers mots. Mais tout à coup elle reprit, avec sa volubilité première:

«Eki est la plus habile à sculpter le bois!
Eki est la plus adroite à tisser le formium!
Eki est la plus patiente à tailler le jade!
Quel grigri et quels pendants d'oreilles valent ceux d'Eki?

Eki connaît tous les tabous.
Nul homme n'est plus savant qu'elle; et nulle femme plus sage.

Tous les chefs morts aiment Eki; et tous les chefs vivants la vénèrent.

Malheur!
Malheur à qui viendrait insulter Eki, dans le pays conquis par son père, son époux et son fils.
Par son père, son époux et son fils, qui veillent sur elle pendant le jour; et que la nuit elle va rejoindre.
Car Eki est, à la fois, morte et vivante.

Eki est la dernière Akaroa!»

Un torrent de larmes et d'affreux sanglots terminèrent ce discours.
Enfin la malheureuse femme se prosterna devant un petit fétiche, simple montant, mieux sculpté que les autres, dans son humble palissade.

Les jambes pliées sous elle, la figure et la poitrine à terre et les mains sur la nuque; la malheureuse Eki gardait une immobilité parfaite.

On l'eût cru morte; si, de temps à autre, quelques mesures d'un chant plaintif et nasillard n'eussent indiqué qu'elle priait.

Mon noble maître, consterné, gardait un silence glacial; et moi, tout confus, prêt à pleurer, j'attendais avec anxiété le dénouement de ce petit drame.

Qui l'aurait pu prévoir!

Eki, par une impulsion admirable, que la mobilité de sa nature sauvage et son incontestable supériorité féminine peuvent seules expliquer, Eki me tendit la main en se relevant.

Je m'empressai de la baiser.

Alors, d'une voix suave et pure, en me caressant délicieusement du regard; elle ajouta:

«Enfant! comme les yeux d'Akaroa, les tiens sont bleus.

Comme les paroles d'Akaroa, les tiennes sont légères.

Comme le cœur d'Akaroa, le tien est bon.

Comme lui, enfant, je t'aime et t'aimerai toujours.»

Et m'attirant vers elle; elle mit son front contre mon front, son nez contre mon nez, ses lèvres contre mes lèvres, sa figure contre ma figure; et me frottant, et m'écrasant le visage; elle m'embrassa, suivant la mode de son pays.

Au sortir de cette accolade, alors que j'étais encore tout aveuglé par les larmes, la morve et la bave; mon noble maître, craignant une nouvelle incartade, se hâta de me dire, sans même me laisser essuyer:

«Enfant, le baiser polynésien n'est pas, comme le nôtre, un gracieux attouchement devenu presque frivole et sans conséquence.

C'est au contraire une garantie sérieuse d'affection et de bonne foi, un engagement inviolable, une véritable institution sociale que réglementent encore les tabous.

Si la forme te surprend, sache qu'en ces parages les désirs affectueux sont ordinairement si pâles, si vagues, et si éphémères; que les bienfaiteurs de ces contrées ont fixé des règles inviolables pour les transformer en sensations (voire même en besoins) irrésistibles: quitte à ne laisser qu'aux souffrances et à la fatigue le pouvoir de les calmer.»

L'orage une fois évité; je pus enfin m'essuyer.

Pardonnez, cher et bon tuteur, ces détails, trop longs peut-être, sur la femme dont mes prochaines lettres vous raconteront l'histoire.

Je ...

AKAROA LE MAGNANIME ET LA BELLE TALA

Presqu'île de Bancks; baie d'Akaroa orientée N. et S., dix milles de long sur deux ou trois de large. A l'Est, quatre anses assez grandes, séparées par de très hauts mornes, savoir: celle d'Akaroa, des Anglo-Français, des Allemands et de Robinson. A l'Ouest, quatre anses pareillement, mais moindres, savoir: celle du Lieutenant, celle du Carénage, de Tikao et de la Ferme. Au Sud, l'entrée. Au Nord, une anse coupée en deux par une langue de terre escarpée, longue, mince, courant droit au Sud, pendant un mille, et terminée par un très gros morne au sommet duquel juchait, au temps jadis, le pas de Tikao.

Tout autour de la baie, en l'air, à trois milles du rivage, quelquefois quatre; on voit les crêtes des montagnes. Au pied des roches, qui les composent, règne une zone aride. Au-dessous, est une ceinture plus ou moins large d'herbes, sèches et coriaces, ou de fougères rabougries; plus bas encore, la forêt aux arbres séculaires et gigantesques, avec leurs filets inextricables de lianes sans fin; en descendant encore, des arbrisseaux et des buissons; en descendant toujours, des fougères élevées;

enfin, au bord de la mer, dans les endroits marécageux, des arundos et du formium; dans les secs, la falaise à pic, le galet ou le sable.

Suivant l'épaisseur, forte ou faible, de son humus et l'ampleur de ses dimensions horizontales; le manteau de terre qui couvre les collines étend ou resserre et hausse ou bien abaisse les festons, luxuriants ou pauvres, de ces diverses végétations.

CHER ET VÉNÉRÉ TUTEUR,

La bonne Eki, prenant la parole, nous raconta ce qui suit:

Les Akaroa n'ont pas toujours commandé.

Le chef de cette illustre famille, simple guerrier de Iotété, vivait jadis, comme lui, au pied de la montagne qui surnage des boues salutaires, fume constamment le jour et flambe la nuit.

Sa figure (c'est d'Akaroa que parle Eki) était parfaitement belle. Mais son corps était difforme: parce qu'il logeait, à la fois, trois esprits.

Akaroa, le magnanime, était fou, bossu et boiteux.

Trois fois, donc, il était taboué.

Donc trois fois on le vénérât.

Iotété avait pour femme Taia, fille de haute naissance, belle: mais stérile. A cause de ce honteux défaut, son époux la délaissait; et ses compagnes se moquaient d'elle.

Souvent même elles l'injuriaient; de sorte que, souvent aussi, elle pleurait.

Un jour que ses larmes coulaient abondantes, Akaroa, mu de pitié s'approcha d'elle et lui dit:

«Que sert à Taia d'être belle?

Elle n'enfante pas; et son époux la délaisse.

Que sert à Taia d'être la première?

Elle n'enfante pas; et ses compagnes se moquent d'elle.

... Mieux vaudrait, pour elle, être femme d'Akaroa!»

Indignée, Taia répondit:

«Remercie Maoui, qui tourne ton esprit comme il lui plaît et souffle à ta langue des paroles, tantôt bonnes tantôt mauvaises.

Remercie Maoui d'étendre sur toi ses tabous protecteurs.

Si ta raison était libre; tu ne vivrais pas demain.»

Akaroa s'en fut, sans proférer un seul mot.

A quelque temps de là, un messenger vint dire au pas de Iotété:

«Téroupara veut un tribut; qu'on paie: sinon, la guerre!»

Iotété, lâche et gourmand; Iotété qui jamais ne suçait la fougère, lait précieux du courage mahouri; Iotété promit de payer.

Apprenant cette conduite indigne, Akaroa s'en fut de nouveau trouver Taia et lui dit:

«Que sert à Taia d'être belle? Elle n'enfante pas; et son époux la délaisse.

Que sert à Taia d'être la première? Elle n'enfante pas; et ses compagnes se moquent d'elle.

Que sert à Taia d'être la femme d'un Ariki; Iotété va payer tribut; et les étrangères, elles-mêmes, se moqueront d'elle, à leur tour.

... Mieux vaudrait pour elle être la femme d'Akaroa.»

Taia, folle de colère, se leva pour le frapper.

Mais lui, grand, droit, lucide et terrible devant elle, reprit, d'une voix imposante:

«Le courage féconde la beauté; non la peur!

De toi me naîtra un fils, l'orgueil de ma race. Six doigts à chaque pied; six doigts à chaque main.

Ainsi le veut le grand Maoui.»

Et Taia, toute tremblante, ne put que répéter à voix basse:

«De moi te naîtra un fils, l'orgueil de ta race. Six doigts à chaque pied; six doigts à chaque main!

Ainsi le veut le grand Maoui.»

Le lendemain Iotété mourut; les Mahouris consternés tinrent conseil; Akaroa devint chef; et le messenger de Téroupara partit les mains vides.

C'était la guerre!

Cependant au pas de Iotété les combattants étaient rares. Un à un, les hommes de cœur avaient abandonné ce chef indigne. Se défendre était impossible: et, mieux que personne, Akaroa le sentait.

Il prit un parti extrême; répara ses pirogues; les remplit de fougère; ravagea tout le pays d'alentour; brûla ses cases; détruisit ses fortifications; embarqua son peuple; et disparut avec la belle Taia.

Pendant qu'il se tenait caché au large; de petites pirogues, distancées les unes des autres le plus possible, et ne portant qu'un seul homme, surveillaient la côte.

Le cinquième jour de cette navigation audacieuse; la flotte de Téroupara, longeant la terre, croisa celle d'Akaroa. Tout aussitôt ce dernier courut au détroit.

Quand il parut au pas de son ennemi; ce fut pour tous une terreur délirante.

Les femmes, les enfants, les vieillards, les guerriers de Téroupara, ses amis même se rendirent.

Akaroa, le conquérant, Akaroa le magnanime ne tua personne.

Il emmena vers le sud les hommes et les pirogues de Téroupara; et fit son entrée, dans la baie, qui maintenant porte son nom, le jour même où les vents, les vagues et la famine achevaient d'exterminer la flotte de son agresseur.

.....

Voyez!

Voyez! Akaroa le victorieux s'avance.

Ses embarcations volent au pas de Tikao.

La crainte s'étale sur toute la baie!

Pendant que son escadrille pagaie; les guerriers du magnanime le parent pour le combat.

Mopou, le premier d'entre eux, excelle en cet art. Il y est si habile que tout mouvement d'un corps humain, zébré par lui, est effrayant. A chaque nouvelle attitude, c'est pour l'ennemi un monstre de formes et de couleurs nouvelles.

Akaroa, pour la bataille, ne garde que son manteau d'ariki.

Des touffes de cheveux, trophées célèbres, ornent son cou, ses poignets, sa ceinture et ses jambes.

De longues plumes diversement colorées couronnent sa tête altière.

Akaroa sait prendre des attitudes inimitables et des poses surhumaines. Tantôt, replié sur lui-même, il semble un enfant chétif. Tantôt, développé dans toute sa grandeur, il paraît un géant immense.

Mais, géant ou nain, toujours il est plus rapide que l'oiseau.

Akaroa sait rugir des cris féroces; lancer des éclairs par les yeux; tonner des injures exécrables; et foudroyer des coups terribles.

Akaroa sait fasciner son ennemi; et, suivant qu'il le veut, l'immobiliser, par la terreur, ou le mettre en fuite, par la peur seulement.

Pour triompher, rarement il lutte.

Akaroa n'ignore aucune ruse. En marchant au combat, il les pèse dans sa mémoire.

Son arme favorite est un casse-tête en jade.

Deux langues fort inégales, sorties de la même bouche en sens contraire, voilà sa forme.

Craignez ce terrible instrument de mort! Jamais on n'a pu suivre ses mouvements rapides; et jamais il n'a pardonné.

Le magnanime Akaroa s'avance. Il est assis sur un trône, au centre de sa longue pirogue. La belle Taia est à ses pieds.

Comme on voit les petits des albatros, des mouettes et des cormorans s'empreser, dans le sillage de leur mère et nager au plus vite, pour la suivre; on voit les pirogues de sa nombreuse escadre rivaliser de vitesse derrière la belle embarcation d'Akaroa.

Une ceinture de plumes blanches, noires et vertes, en orne les fargues élevées. Seize fois la hauteur d'un homme; voilà sa longueur. Rouge de sang est sa couleur.

A l'avant, son taille-mer (découpé tout à jour par de nobles tatouages et couronné de guirlandes en plumes ainsi que de légers penons), s'avance audacieusement au-devant d'elle, pendant que sa guibre, plus tranchante que la feuille de l'arundo, fend l'eau toute empressée de s'entr'ouvrir et de prendre la fuite.

C'est que la figure du dieu terrible de la guerre est couchée, tout au long, sur sa longue étrave.

Oh! redoutable Tou-mata-ouhenga! Comme ta langue monstrueusement tirée nargue les timides, soigneux d'éviter le combat; et comme surtout elle nargue les audacieux, assez vains pour s'y présenter.

Akaroa, ton favori, n'a pas oublié de ciseler ton image tutélaire sur toutes les moulures de sa pirogue capitane.

De sa pirogue capitane! dont le château de poupe (riche de sculptures, cent fois plus que sa proue, déjà si belle) se dresse, dans l'air, noble, gracieux, léger et transparent comme la feuille dont le froid a rongé les chairs.

De longues banderolles pendent derrière lui. La vitesse de cette admirable embarcation les entraîne, comme malgré elles; et leur gracieuse courbure change à chaque fois que l'aire se renouvelle.

Deux fois quarante pagaies; voilà ce qui anime cette coque immense que toute une escadre s'empresse de suivre.

L'enthousiasme, à bord, est extrême!

Jamais chef plus audacieux n'a conduit guerriers plus bouillants d'ardeur.

Chants de guerre, cris, gestes, menaces, provocations de toute nature surexcitent chaque matelot.

Tous ont à tâche de multiplier leur valeur et grandir leurs forces à la hauteur des exploits qu'ils imaginent!

La mer, parfaitement calme, sourit au grand Akaroa; et s'ouvre, avec empressement, sous ses proues rapides.

Pendant cette marche triomphale; on voit les guerriers de Ticao descendre vers le rivage; s'agiter, se réunir et s'empresse d'un groupe à l'autre.

Etonnés ils se demandent ce que veut cette flotte imposante? D'où elle vient? qui la commande? Et, ne sachant que se répondre, ils se penchent vers la mer; glissent leur voix sur ses eaux paisibles; et s'interrogent d'un rivage à l'autre.

Vaines questions! Le nom d'Akaroa, chanté par ses guerriers, retentit de tous côtés et frappe leurs oreilles; mais ils ne le connaissent pas: et cette ignorance même ajoute à leur anxiété déjà si grande.

Femmes, enfants, vieillards et vous guerriers dans la force de l'âge (imprudents qui avez déserté votre pas redoutable), courez, courez au plus vite vers le fond de la baie!

Mais non; arrêtez-vous: il n'est plus temps! L'escadre d'Akaroa est trop rapide; et ses guerriers redoublent d'ardeur.

Déjà; ils sont par le travers du morne!

Déjà; ils le dépassent!

Déjà; ils rencontrent l'isthme!

Déjà; ils débarquent!

Malheureux Ticao; que veux-tu faire avec une aussi faible troupe?

Meurs! Et que le bruit de ton trépas, divulgué par tes guerriers eux-mêmes, annonce de tous côtés la victoire d'Akaroa.

Splendides fêtes de triomphe commencez!

Quant à toi, récente épousée de Ticao,... si pure... si jeune... si belle... et surtout si près d'être mère!... va périr aussi.

Ni Taia, ni le magnanime, trois fois enceinte lui-même, ne sauraient avoir une rivale!

A ce propos extraordinaire; je ne pus m'empêcher de rire.

Eki, tout animée déjà, s'emporta immédiatement.

Mais pour cette première fois, mon noble maître parvint à l'adoucir.

Reprenant la parole, elle me dit donc, d'un ton fort sec tout d'abord:

«Etranger! Le fou a, dans la tête; le bossu, dans le dos; ou le boiteux, dans la jambe, un esprit qui lui fausse la pensée, la stature, ou la marche; comme la femme grosse a, dans le ventre, un enfant qui la bombe et fait vaciller.»

Et sautant une partie de ce qu'elle voulait nous raconter, elle ajouta:

L'ORGIE SAUVAGE

«Le repas de cette conquête dura cinq jours et cinq nuits.
Pour manger, on ne tua personne. Les quelques morts du combat furent seuls servis au festin.

Suivant l'usage, la cervelle de Ticao, ses yeux, ses mains et ses pieds firent la part d'Akaroa.»

Parlant ainsi, Eki nous dévisageait l'un et l'autre, avec une sombre méfiance.
La figure de mon noble maître demeurait impassible: mais la mienne trahit ma pensée.

Alors interrompant son récit, la pauvre femme, tout empourprée de colère, se mit à déclamer:

«Les coutumes des Mahouris sont plus sages que ne le veulent croire les étrangers!...

... Les esclaves, semblables aux Taïpos, mangent par gourmandise la chair humaine! Les Arikis ne le font que pour assurer leurs conquêtes...

... L'esprit, la clairvoyance, la force et la vitesse, d'un vaincu dévoré, augmentent l'esprit, la clairvoyance, la force et la vitesse de son vainqueur... et jamais ne nuisent à sa race.

Voilà pourquoi l'infâme voleur qui va disant partout: *«Je suis un Tikao»* ne peut atteindre, ni même découvrir...

... *Puisse-t-il ne jamais avoir d'enfant ... Et puisse-t-il arriver surtout ... que ses propres filles ... pendant l'obscurité de la nuit ... l'étranglent de leurs propres mains ... pour lui manger le cœur!*»

Ce disant, notre vieille amie, évidemment égarée par la haine, s'éloigna, au plus vite; pour nous cacher ses appréhensions et, plus encore, les charmes, exorcismes, conjurations et autres formules ou opérations cabalistiques, qu'elle se mit à diriger contre le nouveau chef de la baie.

Profitant de cette embellie, mon noble maître me dit alors:

«Cher enfant, les faits et gestes, us et coutumes, superstitions et préjugés des Mahouris m'ont offusqué, tout d'abord, pour le moins autant que toi. Mais, peu à peu, je les ai compris; et, peu à peu aussi, je les ai presque admirés.

Ne te hâte donc point de critiquer leurs erreurs et d'en rire.

Compare-les plutôt aux pratiques et conceptions, fort souvent plus que bizarres, de nos barbares ancêtres, Francs ou Gaulois; et bien vite, il te sera donné de contempler (non pas le moins cruel, mais à coup sûr) le plus intéressant spectacle qui soit au monde: celui de l'homme conduit, par l'inexorable enchaînement des choses, à dépouiller un à un et son pays et sa personne des innombrables attributs de son initiale sauvagerie.

Mais Eki revient; sois bon pour elle: et garde-toi de l'interrompre.»

Effectivement; notre vieille hôtesse, obsédée par ses trop cruels et trop nombreux souvenirs, reprit sa place entre nous deux: et, bientôt, soulagea son cœur en même temps que sa tête, en nous psalmodiant ce qui suit:

«Akaroa; que sont devenues ta prudence et ta sagesse, ta soif de gloire et de combats?

Tu prolonges outre mesure les fêtes de ton triomphe; et le désordre entre dans ton camp!

Tes guerriers délaissent maintenant la fougère maigre (j'en conviens), mais tenace et indestructible; pour s'empiffrer des chairs du manchot surchargé de graisse, gauche à la marche et toujours prêt à fuir.

Garde, à force d'en faire leurs délices, qu'ils ne deviennent comme lui!

Vois!

Ils sont pleins jusqu'aux narines.

Leurs yeux sont rouges et demi-clos.

Abrutis par une digestion impossible, ils ne respirent plus qu'avec peine; poussent des gémissements ignobles; et se vautrent, comme à plaisir, dans leurs ordures surabondantes.

Ainsi font les souffleurs et les baleines monstrueuses; quand elles échouent sur la plage. Leur ventre énorme les étouffe. Leur propre poids les écrase. Ils se vident par les deux bouts et crèvent noyés dans leurs excréments.

Dans ces hommes oublieux de la sobriété, mère de la force et sœur de la prudence; dans ces brutes, qui viennent d'engloutir en un jour ce qui les eût nourris quarante; qui reconnaîtrait les compagnons agiles et vigoureux du magnanime Akaroa?

Akaroa, réveille-toi!

Laisse ta demeure mystérieuse.

Abandonne ton lit de délices.

C'est au grand jour que brille la gloire.

Viens; ta présence est nécessaire.

L'orgueil aveugle ceux de tes guerriers que n'a point immobilisés la débauche.

Soûls, furieux de leurs propres louanges, dans un instant, ils vont se battre.

Parais! ou la jactance va nuire aux tiens cent fois plus que la gloutonnerie.

Parais! Celui qui commande à des hommes ne doit pas languir dans les bras d'une femme, comme un lâche Iotété.

Notre timidité boit votre courage. Notre faiblesse mange vos forces!

Et toi Taia!

Taia, si belle dans ta nudité! Taia, si gracieuse aux danses lascives! Taia, ... si savante aux ébats de la volupté, ... rends ton époux à lui-même,

Tes ardeurs n'enflammeront jamais le sang d'Akaroa, comme les luttes violentes de la guerre.

Les chefs mahouris ont encore plus besoin de haine que d'amour!»

Ainsi disaient plusieurs guerriers, ne voyant pas leur chef paraître.

Ainsi j'aurais pu dire moi-même; si alors j'avais su parler.

Eh bien! Ainsi qu'eux tous; je me serais trompée.

Durant que ses hommes succombent à leurs instincts les plus grossiers; Akaroa (étendu tout au long par terre, le corps entre les jambes de Mopou, la tête sur le ventre de ce hardi chasseur, et le visage dans ses mains puissantes) Akaroa le magnanime ne songe qu'à de nouvelles prouesses; pendant qu'on le tatoue.

Un scribe, versé dans les hiéroglyphes de la gloire, trace avec soin, sur son admirable figure, les gracieuses courbes de la victoire.

Point par point, il enfonce dans les chairs frémissantes la dent acérée du marsouin; la tourne, la retourne ... tant! qu'à la fin (rouge et furieux) le sang accourt. Dès qu'il paraît on le saisit; on l'étouffe avec de l'étoffe; et l'encre bleue de la noblesse rentre à sa place.

Son fusain est indélébile, comme la valeur qu'il inocule!

Pour calmer l'ardeur qu'elle excite, un barde chante les hauts faits d'Akaroa.
Peine inutile! La dent qui, toujours, vient le mordre ne fait qu'exaspérer sa rage.

Vers superflus! Tous les combats, qu'ils lui rappellent, ne lui semblent plus que jeux d'enfants; tant ceux qu'il conçoit sont terribles.

«Bardes et scribes, auxquels Maoui a légué l'art de perpétuer la gloire par des poèmes et par des signes; rhapsodes et hérauts que, de tous temps, ses tabous ont protégés; vous surtout (qui gravez, sur la figure du magnanime, les dessins qui paraient jadis les Iotété, les Téroupara, et les Ticao). Soyez prudents en votre office!

Resserrez dans un étroit espace; ces blasons si rapidement conquis!

La gloire d'Akaroa commence.

Ses hauts faits doivent surpasser ceux de ces trois lignées ensemble.

Réservez la moitié au moins de son noble visage, pour les tatouages qu'il veut gagner encore.

Un chef, qu'on prive de son éclat, devient un ennemi mortel. Celui-ci est trois fois taboué. Redoutez sa juste colère. Rien ne pourrait vous en préserver.

Pourquoi sourire à mes conseils? Ils sont tardifs! Votre œuvre est faite; et vous n'avez plus rien à craindre.

Eh bien! tremblez...

Tremblez! Car vous avez fait l'imprudence de planter, d'un coup, trois noblesses, sur un visage noble déjà; de renfermer trois ambitions, dans un crâne ambitieux déjà; de verser trois ardeurs guerrières, dans un sang trop bouillant déjà; au risque de tout embraser!

Tremblez! Car sa tête se gonfle; car son visage se cramoisit; car tout son corps se volcanise; car tout en lui bout et frissonne.

Qu'il meure! Et ses fidèles immédiatement le vengent.

O génies hospitaliers (de sa tête, de sa cuisse et de son dos) qui tourmentez (en sa raison, en sa démarche et sa majesté) Akaroa le magnanime; aidez-le, au combat terrible où son âme doit s'incarner trois âmes ennemies à la fois; puisque vous seuls pouvez l'aider, en cette lutte tout intestine.

Et toi, belle Taia, qui ne peux que gémir ou bien te lamenter sur le corps de ton noble époux; que du moins tes plaintes et tes larmes servent à calmer ses douleurs.

Penche, sur son visage, tes lèvres fraîches et parfumées; promène, sur lui, ta douce haleine. Sur lui, verse un torrent de pleurs. Et que (noyée par eux ou par elle envolée) la souffrance, à la fin, cesse de le torturer.»

Ainsi fait-elle cinq jours durant.

Le sixième, Akaroa sort; et retourne parmi les siens.

Aussitôt, tous accourent.

Aussitôt, tous regardent.

Aussitôt, émerveillés par cette admirable figure moitié noire et moitié blanche; tous restent immobiles, la bouche béante et l'esprit en suspens; sans pouvoir acclamer leur chef.

Avez-vous vu les petits nestors, la première fois qu'emplumés à peine ils songent à prendre leur vol?

Le courage les pousse jusqu'au bord du trou qui les fit éclore; mais la prudence les y retient. Alors ils écarquillent les yeux; entrouvrent leurs petites ailes;

et s'arrêtent. L'espace leur paraît beau mais terrible. Tout dans leur attitude exprime la crainte et le ravissement.

Eh bien! l'effet d'Akaroa sur les siens n'est pas autre.

Il le voit, et, ravi dans son orgueil, il est heureux!

Secrètement alors, il remercie le dieu terrible de la guerre, qui l'a fait si beau. Secrètement encore, il lui jure de nouveaux combats: et, secrètement aussi, il promet un présent magnifique aux graveurs habiles des blasons mahouris.

Cependant, plus familiers que leurs nouveaux compagnons d'armes, les enfants des boues salutaires vont et viennent autour de lui: plongent leurs doigts dans sa chevelure abondante; agitent sa tête dans tous les sens; et finissent par se persuader qu'à elle seule appartiennent, bien réellement, ces deux joues si dissemblables.

Akaroa se prête un moment à leurs expériences enfantines. Il reprend ensuite sa marche à travers son camp.

Les traces nombreuses et les résultats ignobles de cette orgie prolongée choquent presque sa vue; mais il dissimule.

Il feint aussi de prendre pour siens les guerriers de Ticao, ralliés à son parti pendant son absence; et même, se trompant à dessein, il leur adresse des paroles bienveillantes.

Nul, mieux que lui, ne sait l'art de vaincre les hommes par la violence ou le plaisir.

Nul, mieux que lui, ne sait l'art de les attirer par la flatterie.

Nul, mieux que lui, ne sait l'art de les retenir par la promesse.

Ses propos aimables rassurent les fils du sol qu'agite, chaque printemps, le vaincu du grand Maoui. Immédiatement, ils font des signes à leurs frères, demeurés jusque-là sur la défensive: et, tout aussitôt, leurs dernières craintes se dissipent.

Alors, les crêtes des montagnes se dégarnissent des formes humaines qui les parcouraient.

Alors, rentrent sous bois et retournent vers leurs cases ceux des guerriers de Ticao, que la peur en éloignait encore.

Alors, sous la feuillée, retentissent, de toutes parts, les cris d'allégresse et de ralliement:

«Accourez, enfants de la baie qu'ornera désormais le nom d'Akaroa. Venez partager, avec vos nouveaux amis, la seule journée de fête qui leur reste encore; venez.

Les chairs palpitantes de vos parents n'affligeront pas vos yeux. Les seuls débris humains, qui souillent le sol de la victoire, sont les ossements de Ticao.

Nulle main amie ne les déposera dans la tombe.

Le chef qui manque de prudence trahit la confiance des siens. Il est comme le patou-patou qui blesse, en se brisant, la main qui le brandit.

On ne doit pas de sépulture aux débris d'un casse-tête infidèle.

Venez; déjà le soleil baisse; et demain recommenceront les fatigues de la guerre!

Akaroa, jaloux de conquérir toute la côte, vous conduira demain vers les cruels habitants du sud.

Vous verrez les contrées lointaines, où les jours, pendant l'été, sont d'une longueur excessive; où les nuits, durant l'hiver, semblent ne pas finir; où la mer et les

vents, toujours en fureur, suspendent enfin la marche altière de notre terre mahourie.

En votre absence; Mopou, le hardi chasseur, étendra la protection puissante du grand Akaroa sur vos femmes, vos enfants et vos vieillards, trop craintifs ou trop faibles pour combattre.

Quel plus noble Ariki aurait-on pu choisir?»

Mes yeux ont vu disparaître, une à une, derrière les mornes élevés qui défendent l'entrée de la baie, les pirogues nombreuses de cette belle et puissante escadre; pendant que mes oreilles attentives écoutaient les souhaits bruyants qui lui disaient adieu.

Mais plus inexpérimentées qu'eux, elles n'ont pas (comme ils le firent, pour son image) gravé, dans ma mémoire, les chants enthousiastes qui saluaient son heureux départ.

Mon premier souvenir complet ne remonte qu'à la nuit terrible où mon noble époux prit naissance.

Nuit terrible comme la fin de sa vie!

Nuit triste, hélas! comme la fin de la mienne.

.....

Eki pleurant cessa de parler.

Je dois donc cesser d'écrire.

LA JALOUSIE DE MAOUI

En mer, un peu au nord du cap Est, par le travers des marais sulfureux. La plage est basse; et le soleil n'a pas encore dissipé la brume qui la couvre. On ne voit que le sommet du volcan, au pied duquel était le pas de Iotété. Son panache de fumée s'élève verticalement, tant il y a peu de brise. C'est donc, à terre comme au large, calme plat.

CHER ET BON TUTEUR,

Je profite de l'impossibilité où nous sommes, d'aller de l'avant, pour vous continuer l'histoire d'Eki.

N'oubliez pas que c'est elle qui parle.

Quand Maoui défendit ses îles, sa femme et ses nombreux enfants, contre le génie redoutable qui voulait tous les dévorer; quand sa voix tonnante emboucha son formidable cri de guerre; quand son bras vigoureux lança, contre ce géant ennemi, des roches énormes et des arbres tout embrasés: le feu, l'eau et les vents aussi, la terre, le ciel et la mer, tout éperdus, se confondirent; et criant, et s'entrechoquant, et courant partout effarés, firent un tumulte épouvantable et causèrent un désastre affreux.

Maoui triomphant, dit aux siens:

«Voici le feu qui m'a fait vaincre! je vous le donne; et veux qu'il soit le souvenir, toujours vivant, de mon éclatante victoire.

Le feu est un ami puissant! il vous aidera dans vos travaux; vous protégera contre le froid; vous préservera des ténèbres ... et de ses perfides enfants.

C'est un Taio sûr et fidèle! Après la mort, c'est lui qui guide, au radieux séjour des étoiles, l'âme des hommes valeureux.

Ne le laissez jamais éteindre.»

Maoui est jaloux de sa gloire.

Maoui ne veut aucun rival.

Maoui, quand un héros va naître, rappelle aux hommes son grand combat.

Ainsi fit-il, la nuit affreuse où mon bien-aimé vint au monde.

Nuit affreuse! matinée horrible.

Le jour parut pour n'éclairer, à l'ancien pas de Iotété, qu'une immense désolation.

Les cases, les plantes et les hommes jonchaient la terre de tous côtés. Partout des morts et des mourants! Partout la terreur et les larmes!

Le village pleurait sur ses cases, relevées à peine et détruites; les Mahouris, sur leurs frères tués par les fils odieux de la nuit; et les cadavres sur leurs âmes, abîmées par eux, sans retour, aux gouffres de l'obscurité.

La plaine pleurait ses fougères couchées, brisées, déracinées; la montagne ses hautes forêts; les forêts, leurs arbres énormes: les arbres, leurs branches altières; les branches, leurs feuilles vertes et fermes; et les feuilles, leur fraîcheur si belle et leur rigidité perdues.

Ainsi chaque homme, ainsi chaque être pleurait ses parents ... ses amis.

A voir cette contrée, en larmes, rouler et descendre à la mer, par des ravins multipliés, les victimes (hélas! trop nombreuses) de la jalousie de Maoui, vous eussiez dit la terre au jour où, l'arrachant du sein des mers, ce père commun des Mahouris l'étendit, pour la faire sécher aux brûlants rayons du soleil.

Ses plantes, molles et gorgées d'eau, s'étalèrent sur le sol verdâtre, comme une immense chevelure; et, des fils malheureux de l'onde, ceux-ci, écrasés sous les mailles de la forêt qu'ils habitaient crevèrent, en bâillant au soleil; pendant que ceux-là, plus à plaindre, broyés par les torrents furieux, n'arrivaient à gagner la mer qu'en lambeaux et privés de vie.

Tous les Mahouris qui ont vu ... et tous ceux aussi qui sauront ... le cataclysme épouvantable, où nos frères servirent de poissons, ne pourront oublier Maoui.

Jamais ils n'oublieront sa gloire.

Jamais ils n'oublieront son nom.

Jamais, surtout, ils n'oseront lui comparer qui que ce soit; si grand homme qu'il puisse leur paraître, fût-ce même un Akaroa!

Maoui surpasse tous ses enfants, par sa force et sa jalousie; comme le feu, son vivant emblème, surpasse, par son pur éclat, le plus beau de tous les tatouages.

.....

Au matin de cette nuit affreuse, ma mère sortit pour porter des vivres à Taia, et, chemin faisant, l'aperçut accroupie au bord d'un torrent.

Son corps (aussi blanc que la lune, quand elle nous regarde en plein jour) brillait, de toute sa nudité, parmi les cadavres brunâtres que ce déluge avait roulés; comme (parmi les cases détruites et couvertes, en partie de boue) brillait, toute flambante encore, la case tabouée des accouchements.

La noble femme du magnanime, seule, souffrante, manquant de bois, mais toujours fidèle à Maoui, l'avait incendiée elle-même; pour qu'il protégéât son enfant ... et les efforts de la tempête et les méchants fils des ténèbres n'avaient rien pu contre elle et lui.

Autant que le veut bien l'espace, qui doit séparer l'être sain de celui que le mal taboue; ma mère s'approcha de Taia. Mais l'accouchée était si faible qu'à peine on l'entendait parler.

«Ea (murmurait sa voix frêle, douce et lente comme une brise du soir) porte, à son père, mon bel enfant ... que son nom soit Akaroa! ... Maoui, s'il l'appelaient ainsi, l'exterminerait immédiatement ... sa jalousie est insatiable! ... Sacrifiez-lui beaucoup d'esclaves ... Les Atouas ne protègent pas les Arikis moins cruels qu'eux!»

Alors (belle et fière pour la dernière fois) elle tendit, à ma mère, son fils qu'elle avait soigneusement enveloppé de son propre manteau, et lui dit (la voyant hésiter à le prendre):

«Viens; ... ne crains rien; ... il est parfaitement pur; ... j'ai pris soin de le bien laver; ... et puis, d'ailleurs ... il est taboué!»

Ce disant, comme les forces lui manquaient, elle posa vite l'enfant par terre; roula plusieurs tours sur elle-même, pour ne le point souiller; et perdit, en même temps que la vie, ses impuretés.

Ea fit alors, en tous points, ce qu'avait dit Taia mourante.

Akaroa le magnanime (sans dire un mot, sans faire un geste) reçut l'enfant qu'il avait annoncé; compta différentes fois, des yeux, les vingt-quatre doigts qui l'ornaient; et s'éloigna ... plus tourmenté que jamais par ses trois esprits.

Quand un chef redoutable insulte le plus fier de ses guerriers, sans que celui-ci puisse en tirer vengeance; on voit ce dernier, dévorant sa haine, s'éloigner sombre et silencieux.

Ainsi parut quitter son fils, Akaroa le magnanime.

Le jour même de cette mémorable naissance, il reprit le cours de ses excursions conquérantes.

Pas un seul sacrifice n'eut lieu.

Mon père et ma mère inhumèrent le corps de la belle Taia; et son bel enfant prit ma place au sein maternel.

L'ENFANCE DU CHEF AUX SIX DOIGTS

Toujours en calme plat.

Traduction de quelques-uns des mots que je vais employer. Ariki, chef: Atoua, esprit, génie, dieu: Picopo, prêtre chrétien: Papalangui, étranger, tombé du ciel. Patou-Patou, casse-tête: Toco-toco, javelot: piguinini, petit bambin.

L'enfant mahouri tête jusqu'à trois, quatre, cinq ans, tant qu'il veut presque. J'en ai vu quitter la pipe ou le jeu, pour aller prendre le sein.

CHER ET BON TUTEUR,

Je reprends le récit d'Eki; toujours en lui laissant la parole.

Le père allait croissant en gloire; le fils en force et en malice.

Avant même de pouvoir mordre; il serrait, en tétant, ma mère; et lui faisait verser des larmes. Les dents venues; il fit pire encore.

Oh; comme il m'en souvient!

Un jour, nous étions seuls; il crie; je me trouble ... Que faire?
Moitié candeur et moitié jeu; je lui offre mon petit sein. Sa bouche gloutonne s'en empare; le coupe; et suce mon sang.

J'ai peur. J'appelle. Nul ne répond ... Tout disparaît.

On nous retrouva, l'un sur l'autre; lui ronflant, et moi presque morte.

Ses premiers gestes furent pour battre.

Ses premiers cris pour commander.

Encore moins que Piguinini, il me criait:

«Eki, Eki! à genoux Eki; et bataille!»

Et courant, et gesticulant, et trébuchant, et bredouillant (des jambes et de la langue) sa danse et sa chanson guerrières; il s'élançait furieux sur moi.

Ses ruses étaient déjà savantes. Bien souvent il me faisait mal.

Quand sa bouche changea ses dents, comme les oiseaux muent leurs plumes; il me fallut l'accompagner contre des enfants grands et forts.

Bientôt après, l'idée lui vint de s'attaquer à des hommes faits.

Il me pria; me supplia; me battit et me rebattit, pour l'assister. Ce fut en vain.

Sans les connaître encore; je pressentais déjà des violences plus odieuses que celles de la guerre.

Faute de moi; il s'adjoignit Toma-Kéké, garçon robuste, mais très lâche.

Pour le décider à se battre, mon petit bien-aimé le pérerait des jours entiers. Quelquefois même il le frappait.

Lui se riait de toutes ses peines. Esprit fourbe mais sans courage, corps vigoureux mais inerte, il n'aimait qu'une chose: manger.

A les voir l'un derrière l'autre, en quête d'aventures; vous auriez ri.

L'enfant chef, maigre et pétulant, l'œil en feu et l'écume aux lèvres, marchait devant, la tête haute. Sa langue tirée le plus possible défiait et provoquait le monde.

Son guerrier, tout au contraire, lourd et trop gras, quoique à peine homme, le suivait la paupière basse et le regard éteint; sans souffler mot.

Un pilote agile et rusé, un requin lent, poltron, goulou ... font leur image.

Allant ainsi, mon bien-aimé, s'enflait d'orgueil et de courage; se faisait craindre et estimer.

Jamais, de sa part, une plainte; même à mon père qui l'adorait.

Recevait-il un mauvais coup, c'est vers moi qu'il venait pleurer, rager, maudire et ruminer toutes ses vengeances.

Elles s'en allaient avec ses larmes.

Rien ne pouvait calmer son activité prodigieuse.

De moins en moins battu, mais de plus en plus se battant; assez vite il devint jeune homme.

Alors il disparut six jours.

Le septième au soir il revint; le visage méconnaissable; le corps noir et meurtri de coups; boitant et se traînant à peine: une tête de moà dans les mains!

Ces vertus énergiques, inflexibles, sanguinaires même; ces qualités, si indispensables à un chef de guerriers cruels, épouvantaient son vieux père.

Donc, jaloux de son fils, il l'écartait soigneusement des champs de bataille.

Et donc aussi, jaloux de son père, il s'en allait (pauvre jeune homme!) répétant partout avec frénésie, en versant des larmes de sang: moi aussi, j'ai faim de chair noble!

Par malheur, ces justes plaintes ne sortaient pas seules de sa bouche; et, trop souvent, repoussant toute prudence, il s'écriait:

«Les forces de mon père déclinent; les miennes augmentent ... Son courage s'éteint; le mien s'embrase ... Ses Mahouris ne le craignent plus; moi, je les fais trembler!

Il n'est plus digne de commander!

Qu'il me remette le pouvoir; et ne m'oblige point à le prendre!

C'est à la jeunesse, forte et courageuse, à protéger la vieillesse, débile et timide.»

Ces propos inconsidérés volaient de bouche en bouche et perchaient d'oreille en oreille. Des langues envenimées les guidèrent vers le vieux chef: et lui, si magnanime jadis, sombre et perfide maintenant, finit par renvoyer son fils.

Il s'éloigna.

Ses compagnons d'enfance le suivirent; et, ne pouvant mieux faire, ils se mirent à courir et piller le pays.

La violence et la rapine séduisent les Mahouris. Les hommes propres à la guerre s'enfurent rejoindre le jeune chef. Sa bande devint nombreuse et redoutable. Son père, alors, ordonna de le tuer.

La presqu'île, aussitôt, redevint sûre et tranquille.

Cependant les terreurs du vieil Akaroa continuèrent. Ses meilleurs guerriers l'effrayaient.

Les fourbes et les lâches l'approchaient seuls.

Des meurtres nocturnes avaient lieu.

Il était temps qu'il cessât de vivre.

AMOUR ET ... DÉLIRE!

CHER TUTEUR,

Nous sommes encore sous voiles, à trois lieues de la baie des Iles. Malheureusement le jour décline; la brise mollit; et la lune manque. C'est une nuit de plus à passer à la mer. J'en profite pour vous reprendre le récit de la bonne Eki.

Si bizarres qu'en soient les coupures, j'ai tenu à les conserver telles que notre amie les a faites. Voici donc ce qu'elle nous a dit.

Les femmes mahouries sont plus sages que les savants étrangers.

Jamais elles ne confient à des feuilles, légères et sans défense, les précieux poèmes de leur nation.

Jamais elles ne laissent une bouche vulgaire altérer leurs vers admirables.

Jamais les pensées qu'ils renferment (transportées constamment de mémoire en mémoire, par des lèvres amies) ne s'engourdissent un seul instant dans le sommeil de l'oubli.

Pour se réciter, l'une à l'autre, les exploits glorieux de leurs Atouas; leurs Tabous pleins de sagesse; et les hauts faits des héros mahouris, elles se cachent religieusement.

Ainsi faisons-nous bien souvent ma mère et moi, sur la droite du petit lac, dans la grotte étroite et sombre que masquent si bien les buissons.

Honte aux hommes qui maintenant, comme à cette époque déjà, laissent aux femmes la charge écrasante de conserver ces précieux trésors.

Pour imiter les Picopos, ils méprisent les lois de Maoui; n'apprennent plus nos chants sacrés; et fuient les nobles travaux de leurs ancêtres.

Leur dédain stupide n'aura qu'un temps!

Maoui les dégoûtera de mendier aux étrangers des vivres, qui les empoisonnent; et des vêtements, qui les pourrissent de vermine!

Il les dégoûtera de rester accroupis des journées entières, sous leurs chaudes couvertures, le corps en moiteur, l'œil somnolent, la figure hébétée, sans veiller ni dormir, immobiles et muets comme des phoques, vautrés par terre en plein soleil!

Il les dégoûtera d'avoir, pour seul exploit en leur vie, chassé, battu et dévoré les poux ignobles qui les dévorent!

Rendus un jour à leurs vieilles et nobles coutumes, les Mahouris saisiront leurs armes; chasseront les Papalanguis; et apprendront, avec enthousiasme, les chants précieux qui enseignent les ruses de la guerre, les secrets de l'industrie et les tabous de la religion.

Ils les apprendront!

Et, rendues à leurs occupations premières, leurs femmes ne deviendront plus stériles; et ne seront plus flétries avant l'âge.

Les versets de nos chants n'ont pas de nombre.

Les crânes des hommes, plus épais et plus grands que les nôtres, leur sont (plus que les nôtres) des greniers sûrs et commodes; leurs corps plus robustes, des supports plus solides; leur cervelle plus grosse et plus ferme, une nourriture plus abondante et meilleure.

Les Atouas et les héros mahouris, Maoui plus que tous les autres, ont mis leur courage indomptable et leur force prodigieuse dans nos poèmes sacrés.

Tout ce qui est impur, nos souillures périodiques surtout leur répugnent.

Voilà pourquoi celles de nous, qui ont en tête les versets innombrables de nos Tabous finissent par être lunairement aussi sèches que les hommes.

Pour nous forcer à devenir telles; ces esprits emploient, tantôt, la violence et, tantôt, la séduction.

Tantôt, donc (en nous étonnant intérieurement, pour que nos membres se tordent, que tous nos traits grimacent, que notre face bleuisse, que notre bouche écume et que notre gosier jappe comme celui des chiens), ils font que les hommes nous prennent en horreur et nous fuient; et, tantôt, au contraire (afin qu'on nous admire et vénère, sans oser nous approcher), ils immobilisent notre corps, par leur imperturbable majesté, pendant qu'ils enlèvent notre âme au radieux séjour des étoiles.

Là, par des images enchanteresses, ils nous ravissent.

Là, par des sensations délicieuses, ils nous bercent dans un bonheur incompréhensible, mais plein de charmes.

Là, pour la première fois de ma vie; je fus transportée (moi aussi!) le matin même du jour où mon bien-aimé se fit chef et moi ... femme.

Oh, toujours il m'en souviendra.

.....

Le dernier verset de nos innombrables Tabous reprend sa place, dans ma mémoire.

Ea me quitte.

Avec elle, grotte et buissons, lac et montagnes ... tout disparaît.

L'image adorée du compagnon de mon enfance remplit mon âme à elle seule.

Je vois sa figure, noble et belle; son corps, souple et délié; ses membres, gracieux et languissants dans la pose, accentués et prompts dans le geste.

Sa chevelure presque noire déjà, souple et soyeuse comme le fil humide encore du formium, tombe ... (caprice étrange ...) par boucles jusque sur ses épaules.

Son front large, pur, droit, élevé, fier comme le pin géant, que ne courba jamais la brise, étale tout son orgueil.

Ses sourcils, puissants d'ombrage, comme la sombre verdure de cet Ariki des arbres, disent toute sa méfiance.

Le globe de ses yeux est blanc comme la neige; sa pupille étincelante comme un rayon de soleil; son iris fauve et brillant comme la flamme.

De longs cils, plus noirs que le charbon de tatouage, ont peine, en s'entrecroisant, à modérer son regard. Ses paupières seules parviennent à l'éteindre un peu, en fermant leur parfait ovale.

Jamais yeux ne furent beaux comme ceux de mon bien-aimé!

Son nez, long, droit, courbé vers son milieu (moins que ne l'est, à son bout, celui de l'albatros), descend majestueusement vers sa bouche admirable.

Ses narines sont fines, fendues à peine, et presque immobiles au repos. La colère les fait béantes, affreusement bombées, et tumultueusement soufflantes.

Ses lèvres, minces et vermeilles, par trois fois, s'abaissent; et, par trois fois aussi, se relèvent, en s'ondulant gracieuses sur elles-mêmes. S'entr'ouvrent-elles; des dents blanches, courtes et serrées accourent sur leurs bords finement prolongés.

Jamais bouche ne sut, mieux que celle de mon bien-aimé, glisser les doux propos de la persuasion; ou cracher les accents saccadés et sonores de la colère et de l'injure.

Un léger duvet commence à parer sa lèvre supérieure. Plus ferme et plus abondant à mesure qu'il descend vers le menton, il termine sans trop le cacher l'ovale parfait de ce noble visage.

Comme des plumules blanches, frisées, transparentes et légères autant que des flocons de neige, embellissent la gorge resplendissante et verdâtre du toui coquet; les spirales, gracieuses et diaphanes aussi de sa barbe, encore blonde, ornent la gorge, hâlée déjà, de mon bien-aimé.

Aucun tatouage ne décore sa figure; et cependant elle est belle: si belle, que, maintenant encore, mes yeux se mouillent de larmes, en se la rappelant.

En se la rappelant ... même telle qu'elle était quand mon âme revint sur terre, prendre à nouveau possession de mon corps, le matin du jour où! ...

.....

J'étais ... debout et toute nue ... dans les bras du jeune chef aux six doigts.
 Ses yeux ardents troublaient ma tête.
 Sa main égarée sur mon sein m'inondait de frissons étranges.
 Une angoisse horrible m'empêchait de fuir.

La honte enfin délia ma langue!

«Akaroa; que me veux-tu?»
 «Ce qu'un mari veut à sa femme.»

Mon effroi, l'effraya lui-même: son visage devint triste et sombre: et ses pleurs coulèrent abondantes.

«Vois,» dit-il, «mes bras sont amaigris par la lutte; mes pieds brûlés par la marche; mon manteau rongé par les ronces; mon corps dévoré par la faim.

La soif brûle ma bouche; et les larmes mes yeux ... La douleur égare ma tête ... Une ardeur ... toi seule peux l'éteindre!
 Eki sois bonne autant que belle.»

Et moi, de trembler plus encore.

Et lui (de sa main écrasant la mienne) de me fixer à son côté ... et de poursuivre, hors de lui-même:

«Ils ont mis mes guerriers en fuite!
 Ils m'ont fait errer comme un chien sauvage!
 Ils m'ont traqué comme un Taipo.
 Les mensonges de mon père retombent sur ma tête.
 Maoui m'accable. Mes six doigts lui font envie.
 Taia la belle fut trop crédule.

Tous ... tous me pourchassent pour me tuer. Que du moins ma race revive.

Eki, sois bonne autant que belle ... et recueille, avant mon départ, le ... souffle des Akaroas.»

Il me priait! je refusai.

Sa voix, ses yeux, ses bras, sa rage, sa lubricité détestables, immédiatement, se ruèrent sur moi.

«Taipos et Moa,» m'écriai-je, «Mopou; à moi.»

Comme un phoque sur une bonite, mon père fond sur Akaroa.

Ils tombent, rugissent, roulent et se battent.

Le jeune homme se relève seul: Et ma vie suit celle de mon père.

A-DIEU-VAT!

(Comme disaient les vieux loups de mer.)

La douleur me rend la vie!

J'aperçois Mopou sans mouvement, le front ouvert et tout ensanglanté.

On l'a déjà solidement garrotté à la poutrelle qui ne le quittera plus qu'en aidant à brûler ses chairs. La rage a tant serré les tresses de formium qui le marient à

sa perfide compagne de route et de flamme, que d'un bout à l'autre son corps est coupé de nombreux anneaux.

Ainsi préparé pour le festin de Maoui, le vigilant chasseur, le guerrier intrépide, le noble si fier de ses nombreux exploits, ressemble à une chenille endormie, lâche, rampante et repoussante de grosseur!

Ces préparatifs exécrables font que je reporte la vue sur moi-même.

Horreur!

Moi aussi, pauvre inoffensive, je suis préparée pour le sacrifice!

Ah! mes yeux, fermez-vous pour toujours!

Ils obéissent.

Mais, plus curieuses et plus cruelles qu'eux, mes oreilles restent entr'ouvertes.

Les hommes d'Akaroa chuchotent.

Elles écoutent leurs propos infâmes; entendent leurs rires libidineux; et m'expliquent les douleurs atroces qui me torturent aux entrailles.

La honte m'abîme. La pudeur m'exaspère. Je veux insulter et maudire, au moins du regard, l'exécrable chef aux six doigts; ... et voilà que (debout, tout près de moi) je le vois plus grand, plus terrible et plus beau que jamais.

Il évoque la colère.

La colère, implacable ennemie de l'irrésolution! Sa gloire, enfin, va prendre son vol!

«Lui ou moi,» rugit-il, en écumant de rage.

(Ses paroles seules furent coupables, en cette journée ... si odieuse le matin, mais si adorable le soir!)

«Lui ou moi ... le faible ou le fort ... l'imposteur ou le taboué.

Maoui, donne-moi la victoire! Et le sang des Iouikao étanchera ta jalousie.

Esclaves et guerriers ... femmes et hommes ... enfants et vieillards ... vivres et cases ... tout, absolument tout, périra dans les flammes et pour toi seul.

Maoui, donne-moi la victoire! Et les victimes, qu'à ma naissance te refusa l'avarice de mon père, seront quarante fois doublées.

Maoui, Maoui! donne-moi la victoire et jamais tu ne manqueras de chair humaine!»

Akaroa se décide et part.

On nous emporte mon père et moi. Les partisans du jeune chef se dispersent (joyeux qu'ils sont) pour folâtrer; et le suivent, tout en s'éparpillant sur la rive du petit lac.

Le matin, quand les petits Kivi-Kivi partent pour la pâture, leur mère a peine à les veiller. Ils sont si frétilants alors qu'ils n'entendent même pas son gloussement inquiet. La fatigue, à défaut du danger, finit par les rendre attentifs; et, le soir, ils marchent presque sur elle.

Au début de leur expédition, les guerriers du jeune Akaroa font comme eux. Comme eux encore, ils feront sur la fin.

Cependant le cortège remonte le petit lac; s'engage, ensuite, dans les fougères; et puis, après, dans la forêt.

Plus il avance, plus il augmente.

Toujours de nouvelles figures, jeunes toujours, mais toujours sombres, souvent farouches: quelquefois même terribles.

On atteint les crêtes arides. Un court moment on se repose; et l'on repart.
 La descente se fait rapidement. On touche enfin le bord de mer, dans la baie même d'Akaroa ...

.....

Calme parfait: ciel sans nuage: soleil radieux; quoique déjà sur son déclin.
 Sur l'eau, pas une ride; pas un souffle, dans l'air; aucun bruit, dans l'espace; dans toute la baie, aucun mouvement.

L'excessive chaleur du jour endort les plantes, les animaux, les hommes ... et la prudence elle-même.

Le soleil et ses rayons, au ciel, le jeune chef et ses guerriers, à terre, sont seuls à veiller et marcher.

Tout sourit, maintenant, au fils; comme tout, jadis, souriait au père.

Le jeune Akaroa s'embarque et pousse un cri.

Aussitôt des anses et des criques, des ravins et des buissons eux-mêmes; cent cris, cent guerriers, cent pirogues lui répondent.

La baie, si déserte et si calme à l'instant même, s'agite et se peuple de tous côtés.

Les cormorans, les muettes et les goélands, les albatros, les pétrels et les damiers sont moins bruyants et moins agiles, à s'abattre sur un cadavre, que ne le sont à rayonner, en chantant, vers leur maître, les guerriers du chef aux six doigts.

Tandis que la joie, l'enthousiasme, l'espoir de vaincre et butiner guident le jeune Akaroa; la tristesse et le découragement, la crainte du pillage et la terreur du massacre abîment le pas de son vieux père.

Le Magnanime a cessé de vivre. Mopou n'est point de retour: et l'on entend un cri de guerre.

Est-ce un Ariki protecteur? Est-ce au contraire un ennemi.

Faut-il attendre, ou bien s'enfuir? le recevoir ou bien combattre?

L'escadrille et les cris s'approchent. Ils s'approchent; et le jeune chef envoie son nom vers le rivage.

L'enthousiasme, à terre, le reçoit; à la mer, les murmures commencent. Ses fidèles de tout à l'heure sont maintenant ses ennemis, et ses ennemis ses fidèles.

Quels sont ceux qu'il s'en va trahir?

Il débarque, le pas applaudit: mais on nous apporte, il murmure ... Les fils du feu, tout au contraire, hurlent de joie. Ea paraît, ils la garrottent.

Le jeune chef, inquiet et sombre, dévisage tous ceux qui l'entourent.

Il fait un signe; et l'on se tait.

Son œil s'anime, ses bras se lèvent, ses doigts s'écartent, sa voix vibre; il dit alors:

«Je suis taboué!

Un doigt de plus donne à ma main une puissance irrésistible. Un doigt de plus donne à mon pied une agilité sans égale.

Qu'aucun de vous ne me résiste! la fuite même le perdrait.

Voyez Mopou! Voyez Eki!!

Le père combattait pour sa fille! La fille ... pour sa virginité!
Les forces de l'un où sont-elles? Où trouver la pureté de l'autre?

Chez les hommes, comme chez les femmes ... dans ce pas, comme dans tous mes autres; je ne veux qu'un vouloir: le mien!

L'Ariki des mers était fort: l'Ariki du feu est terrible!
L'Ariki des mers était bon: l'Ariki du feu est parfait!
Délivrez Mopou: c'est mon père!
Délivrez Ea: c'est ma mère!
Délivrez Eki: c'est ma femme!
Fêtes funèbres et chants de morts: commencez!»

Il dit: tous obéissent.

Alors il se prosterne: applique à terre son front et sa poitrine: met sur sa tête les pieds de son père vénérable: et, sans plus s'inquiéter des autres, s'abîme jusqu'au soir dans sa douleur sincère, ses émotions profondes et ses gigantesques projets.

Le lendemain, au point du jour, Mopou orna le corps de son défunt maître: l'accroupit dans sa posture favorite: mit en travers de ses genoux son patou-patou redoutable: et le descendit dans la tombe.

Mon noble époux déposa, aux côtés de son père, les têtes fumées des chefs, nombreux déjà, qu'il avait tués en ses excursions vagabondes; empila, par derrière, les esclaves qu'il sacrifiait à l'inimitié qui les avait, tous deux, si longtemps divisés; acheva de combler la vaste fosse de cadeaux et provisions de toutes sortes; et fit recouvrir soigneusement le tout.

Les chants des morts recommencèrent alors, pour alterner avec les repas funèbres, et ne finir qu'avec le jour.

Ses magnifiques ornements, son maintien fier et majestueux, son glorieux cortège de nobles, sa troupe nombreuse d'esclaves et ses richesses prodigieuses valurent, magnanime Ariki des mers, un si flatteur et si glorieux accueil, au séjour fortuné des morts, que sa haine pour son enfant s'y transforma en affection inaltérable.

LE PAS D'IOUIKAO.

(Prononcez I-Oui-Kao.)

Trois jours après cet événement, comme nous étions sur le rivage, Akaroa prit son manteau: le porta sur un petit tertre et l'y maintint par cinq galets: deux gros, un moyen, deux petits. Le moyen, il le mit en haut; les deux petits, aux coins en bas; les deux gros sur chaque côté, au beau milieu de leur longueur.

Alors il s'en vint nous rejoindre; et murmura, d'une voix sombre: «Voici le pas d'Iouikao.

Le galet d'en haut représente le réduit de l'Ariki lui-même. Il surveille, de droite et de gauche, le front supérieur de son pas.

Les deux énormes vous figurent les ouvrages, qui font saillie au plein centre de chaque flanc; et les deux petits les renforts qui terminent les bas-côtés.

Des quatre fronts de ce village, perché en haut d'une colline, l'inférieur seul est accessible. Ses extrémités sont très fortes. C'est au centre que j'attaquerai.»

Ce disant, il fixa Mopou. Mais lui, tout surpris, ne dit mot: et mon noble époux continua:

«Cinq terrasses superposées divisent l'intérieur de ce pas. La plus basse a reçu dix cases, qui forment deux groupes inégaux. Celle d'au-dessus en a vingt, partagées entre trois quartiers. Treize reposent sur la troisième, en y simulant deux îlots. L'avant-dernière en compte neuf, cinq d'un côté, quatre de l'autre; la plus haute une seule, énorme, l'antre d'Iouikao lui-même.

Cela fait deux cents hommes forts, plus les femmes, enfants et vieillards. Il me faudra cinq cents guerriers.»

Comme Mopou allait parler, son jeune chef l'arrête et poursuit:

«Iouikao, je le sais bien, a pour case un nid de Taipo, tout à la fois montagne et grotte, terre et branchage, case et grenier. Il est plein de fougère et d'armes. Deux ou trois soupiraux l'éclairent, mais la fumée le rend obscur. Sombre et perfide comme son maître, c'est un repaire impénétrable; je le détruirai sans le voir.»

Mais (dit Mopou, avec vitesse) Iouikao, dans ce donjon, peut tenir tête à tout un pas.

Une rangée de pieux énormes le sépare tout à fait du sien; et, derrière cette palissade, un fossé de grande profondeur et coupé de nombreuses traverses lui fait encore une défense.

Et, plus vite que mon père encore, mon noble époux de lui répondre:

«Une défense, contre les siens; comme à eux une contre lui! Car, au village d'Iouikao, pas de terrasse, ou de quartier, ou bien même de simple case qui ne soit bourrée de mangeaille et n'ait, pour le moins, sa banquette, quelquefois même sa palissade.

Un chef, qui redoute ses guerriers et que ses guerriers n'aiment pas, est toujours vaincu à l'avance. Tous se sont armés contre lui, comme lui s'est armé contre eux tous; donc personne ne l'est contre moi.

Ne comptant nullement sur lui, au jour de gloire, ils le quitteront; pour ne veiller que sur eux-mêmes. Dispersés, que pourront-ils faire? Rien!

Il nous faudra les assommer, comme des phoques, l'un après l'autre.

Malheur au chef que son courage et la terreur que, personnellement, il inspire ne suffisent point à protéger! Malheur à celui qui ne sait que tenir ses guerriers au ventre; c'est être maître de leur valeur.

Pour ignorer ces vérités, Iouikao, tu périras!

A te tuer, j'aurai peu de gloire! Mais un chef bête ne doit pas vivre.»

En parlant, le chef aux six doigts s'exaltait trop.

Mon père, pour qu'il devînt prudent, lui dit:

«Akaroa, ne l'ignore point!

Autour du pas d'Iouikao, règne un large chemin de ronde; autour de ce chemin de ronde, un assez fort parapet, et autour de ce parapet, une rangée de pieux redoutables, longs, pointus, durcis au feu, profondément fichés en terre et dirigés dans tous les sens.»

«Après?» fit le jeune chef, en riant. Mopou reprit:

«Autour d’eux circule un fossé, coupé de traverses nombreuses; autour de lui, sur son escarpe, une seconde palissade, dont tous les poteaux élevés sont attachés, les uns aux autres, et par le col et par la taille: autour d’eux encore à leur pied, une banquette garnie elle-même, extérieurement, d’une troisième palissade, à pieux comme la précédente, mais toute sabordée par en bas.»

«Après?» refit le jeune chef. Mon père, aussitôt d’ajouter:

«Aux pieds des sabords, un fossé; sur son escarpe, un talus encore; enfin, en dehors les glacis.»

«... Par devant! Mais sur les côtés,» reprit enfin Akaroa, incapable d’attendre un mot.

«Iouikao, non rassuré, Iouikao, tremblant toujours, a fait un grand abattis d’arbres!

Entortillés, mêlés, brisés, troncs et branches, buissons et lianes, enchevêtrés et noués ensemble, font un rempart impénétrable.

Sous cette forêt, morte et sombre, circulent mille sentiers tortueux, garnis de pointes, cachées sous terre ou dans les feuilles, et flanqués de gouffres affreux. Des claies fragiles masquent leur bouche; des pieux aigus arment leur fond.

Enfants du feu, ne craignez rien!

Aucun de ces monstres hideux, faux dormeurs, toujours prêts à mordre, n’engloutira un seul de vous!

Akaroa saura briser, ronger, brûler et consumer, par la flamme qui l’a vu naître, tous ces pièges épouvantables.»

Parlant ainsi, il s’animait. Il s’animait et s’écria:

«Arbres et branches, buissons et lianes, pieux, claies et pointes embrasez-vous!

Dévorez, dans votre fournaise, toutes les ruses d’Iouikao; et montrez-nous, nue et béante, comme les mille gueules de ses gouffres, son atroce stupidité.»

Il dit, s’agite et gesticule. Mon père émerveillé l’imite; et les voilà bientôt tous deux près d’entonner leur chant de guerre.

Cependant ils s’arrêtent encore.

— Trois forts parapets, dit Mopou.

— Deux fossés, fait Akaroa.

— Plus trois rangées de palissades ...

— ... Et toute une forêt renversée.

— Huit colliers ...

— ... Avec une ceinture ...

— Beaux ornements d’un pas de niais.

— ... Vaines défenses d’un camp de lâches!

«Mopou (dit, en grinçant des dents, le jeune chef presque en fureur), les sardines, qu’elle veut dévorer, la taupe-marsouin les entoure d’un cercle aussi grand que rapide. Puis elle s’en va, serrant sa courbe, en se redressant à mesure; et, redoutant sa dent cruelle, le frétin n’ose plus courir.

Cependant, elle se dresse encore; et la voilà quasi debout, pivotant sur sa queue flexible. Elle rejette alors, l’un sur l’autre, avec son corps toujours tournant, ces poissons qui ne peuvent fuir. Forcément donc ils sautent en l’air.

C'est dans sa gueule qu'ils retombent.

Comme la taupe, j'irai serrant, autour du pas d'Iouikao, mon cercle de flammes cruelles.

Toujours tournant, toujours montant, et toujours poussant, vers son antre, ses guerriers trop mal défendus: je les entasserai au repaire où ils cuiront tous pour Maoui.

Son insatiable jalousie en aura plus haut que la gorge.»

Et, déjà fier de son triomphe, mon noble époux, l'œil enflammé, entonne enfin un chant de guerre.

Malgré lui, ses bras et ses jambes dansent les gestes du combat.

Malgré lui, mon père vénérable imite son enfant bien-aimé.

Et, malgré eux, leurs Mahouris, étonnés et bientôt ravis, accourent, gesticulent, s'échauffent et, finalement, suivent la cadence de leurs chefs exaspérés. Si bien que, furieux à leur tour, ils dansent et chantent, comme eux deux:

«Préparez, préparez, enfants du feu, vos fascines légères; mais perfides!

Préparez, préparez, enfants du feu, vos fouennes lourdes et cruelles!

Iouikao et tous les siens vont périr au milieu des flammes.

Iouikao et tous les siens vont apaiser le grand Maoui.

Enfants du feu, préparez vos toko-tokos, si rapides!

Enfants du feu, préparez vos casse-tête, aussi légers qu'agiles!

Enfants du feu, préparez vos patou-patous sanguinaires!

Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens soient percés par vos traits mortels!

Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens périssent assommés par vos coups!

Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens aient le crâne en deux par vos armes!

Soufflez, soufflez, enfants du feu!

Soufflez, que vos brandons s'enflamment!

Et qu'un vaste incendie consume Iouikao et tous les siens!»

Chantant ainsi, chefs et guerriers serpentent en dansant sur la grève; et puis enfin rentrent au pas.

CONSEIL DE GUERRE

Je reprends le récit d'Eki. C'est toujours elle qui parle.

Le lendemain, au point du jour, ceux qui nous regardaient partir, causaient ainsi sur le rivage.

— Quelle est cette pirogue qui sort?

— C'est celle de notre jeune chef.

— Et quels sont ceux qui l'accompagnent?

— Ea, Eki et Mopou.

— Et pourquoi s'en vont-ils si tôt?

— Nous l'ignorons! Akaroa ne dit plus rien.

Ma mère et moi étions devant; mon père et mon époux derrière. Tous les quatre nous pagayions avec ardeur et sans rien dire.

Nous doublâmes successivement la pointe nord de la passe; puis son étroit et long chenal; puis les hauts mornes de l'entrée; puis les deux roches qui la défendent; puis enfin nous voguâmes au large.

Quand nous fûmes bien loin de terre, Akaroa nous commanda de rentrer, tous trois, nos pagaies; et de nous tourner vers l'arrière.

Maintenant, je peux vous parler, nous dit-il, d'un air calme et digne.

Hier, j'ai cédé à mon courage. J'ai laissé voir mon secret. J'ai compromis votre salut. J'ai peut-être enfanté un traître.

Aujourd'hui, je veux être sage et n'écouter que la prudence, amie des vieillards et des femmes: voilà pourquoi je vous consulte.

Vous êtes tous trois Iouikao. Je vous attaque; défendez-vous; apprenez-moi ce qu'il faut craindre.»

— Maître, dis-je alors à mon père, quel est cet ennemi perfide qui ceint de feu notre montagne et s'avance vers notre pas.

— C'est un petit enfant cruel: le fils du grand Akaroa.

Le présomptueux s'est mis en la tête que notre pas touchait aux arbres: que ses flammes y mettraient le feu: et, qu'effrayés par l'incendie, nous n'oserions lui résister.

Tout le contraire arrivera!

Vos cases resteront saines et sauvées. Ses guerriers fuiront devant vous: et lui seul succombera.

Armez-vous donc; et, sans rien craindre, dispersez-vous vers les défenses.

Entassez, auprès de nos portes, les rouleaux, qui doivent les fermer; commencez même à en garnir les coulisses jusqu'à moitié; bouchez, vers le sommet du pas, tous les sabords de la palissade extérieure; puis après, venez me rejoindre.

Nous courons, mes plus braves et moi, arrêter, dans sa marche altière, ce chef qui ne doute de rien. Je vais le défier au combat. S'il ose accepter, je l'assomme. La gloire de son père expire; et ses conquêtes sont à moi.»

Ainsi me répondit Mopou, contrefaisant Iouikao.

Continue, fit Akaroa; tout cela j'aurais pu le dire.

Mopou reprit:

— Me voici donc sur les glacis. Je m'avance de quelques pas et dis, en te tirant la langue:

Akaroa! que viens-tu faire, aussi près de nos palissades?

— J'ai fait vœu de vous sacrifier, toi et les tiens, au grand Maoui: je viens accomplir ma promesse.

— Quoi! tu viens vraiment m'attaquer? Pauvre tout petit chef de côte! Enfant, que vaincrait une femme, tu veux dominer les hautes terres! Depuis quand le manchot barboteur veut-il nicher dans les grands arbres?

— Ne méprise, faible Iouikao, ni mon âge ni mon pays. Celui qui sait planer au large et ne dormir que sur les flots surpasse, en force et en courage, l'oiseau qui ne peut que sauter ou voltiger de branche en branche.

Quand même tu serais l'être étrange, moitié perroquet moitié chouette, que mon père vit au bout du monde; ni ta vigueur, ni ta taille, ni (bien moins encore) ton courage et tes ruses de fils de la nuit ne m'effraieraient; car je suis un jeune albatros.

— Pour un homme, il n'y a que honte à frapper un Piguinini. Mais le bonheur d'exterminer la race des Akaroa éteint, chez moi, toute répugnance. Avance donc, arrogant enfant, pour que j'en finisse avec toi.

— Quand tous les tiens seront détruits, je pourrai te combattre seul et te procurer quelque honneur, avant de consommer ta ruine. Jusque-là, diffère ton défi.

— Ainsi, ce que l'on dit est vrai!

L'albatros n'a de courage que lorsqu'il est en pleine mer. En mettant le pied sur le sol, il devient plus gauche et plus lâche que l'aptérix ou le manchot.

Honte à toi, et honte à ton père!

Honte à tous ceux que tu commandes; et honte au grand Maoui lui-même!

Son chef aux six doigts (chose inouïe!) vient de refuser le combat.

Vis-tu jamais, terre mahourie, une turpitude pareille?

Mer immense, entr'ouvre tes eaux; pour noyer la souillure infâme qu'on vient de faire à mon pays.

A ce discours du grand chasseur, parlant en guise d'Iouikao, notre jeune chef est consterné.

Frémissant, en un trouble extrême, il cache sa tête entre ses mains; se répand en torrent de larmes; et reste comme anéanti.

Alors nous éprouvons, tous trois, une angoisse vraiment horrible.

Le front baissé, les bras pendants, l'œil morne et l'oreille inquiète, nous attendons une réponse; et pas un mot ne nous arrive.

La seule feinte d'une vraie guerre vient-elle d'engloutir, à jamais, le courage de notre jeune chef? En est-ce fait des Akaroa? Leur valeur était proverbiale; sera-ce leur lâcheté désormais?

Ces pensées nous brisent le crâne; et mon époux ne nous dit rien?

Son corps et tous ses membres tremblent. Sa poitrine râle tumultueuse. La honte le serre à la gorge ...

... La mer se retirait toujours. Notre pirogue, à la dérive, fuyait, honteuse d'un tel crime. La terre, en s'immergeant dans l'onde, avait hâte de s'en laver.

«Adieu, beau lac! Adieu, rivage! Adieu, terres et eaux, illustrées par Mopou et son noble maître!

Adieu, cher orgueil d'Ea! Unique amour d'Eki, adieu!»

Ainsi, tous les trois en silence, immobiles et désespérés; nous saluions, une fois encore, ce que nous avions adoré.

Ainsi, tous trois, l'âme navrée, et, maudissant tous trois la vie; nous conjurons la mer immense de nous prendre avec notre idole: ne pouvant vivre sans l'aimer.

A voir l'eau, si calme et si belle, vous auriez cru à son sommeil: elle nous écoutait, la perfide!

... Tout à coup, mon époux se lève et s'écrie d'une voix tonnante:

«Oui, je refuserai le combat! Oui, mon courage et mon orgueil seront vaincus par ma prudence! Oui, je braverai tous ces outrages!

Écoutez ce que je veux faire.

Je veux tuer tous mes ennemis; et que pas un de vous ne meure.

Je mets tous mes guerriers ensemble. Je protège ceux du premier rang par de fascines grandes comme eux. Tous ceux du second, je les arme de fouennes et de lances énormes. Ceux du centre, je leur fais porter tout ce qu'il faut pour l'incendie.

Puis; moi d'un côté, Mopou de l'autre, nous empêchons qu'aucun ne quitte ce pas mobile; et nous le guidons, sans qu'il rompe, jusqu'à celui d'Iouikao.

Nous comblons le premier fossé, avec une partie des fascines et la flamme combat pour nous.

Nous voilà donc sur la banquette, courant vers la porte du pas. Elle brûle aussi et nous entrons.

Alors, quartier par quartier, nous dépeçons toutes les cases. Et, toujours bien groupés ensemble et sans nous quitter un instant, nous abattons, l'un après l'autre, tous ceux qui veulent s'échapper.

Ainsi, gravissant les terrains, et chassant toujours devant nous les hommes du pas d'Iouikao; nous les repoussons vers son antre, où ils s'empilent les uns sur les autres.

Alors bourrant de feu ses gueules, nous consommons le sacrifice, en les cuisant tous pour Maoui; et le voilà notre fidèle allié.»

Mopou répond:

- Mais avec leurs toco-tocos?
- Ils ne perceront que nos fascines.
- Mais avec leurs longs casse-tête?
- Ils ne blesseront encore qu'elles.
- Mais avec leurs patou-patous?
- Comment veux-tu qu'ils nous atteignent!

Mon père, alors émerveillé, entonne le fameux chant:

«Préparez, préparez, enfants du feu, vos fascines, légères mais perfides.
Préparez, préparez, enfants du feu, vos ...»

Mais le jeune chef l'interrompant:

«Vois le cormoran, quand il pêche. En sentinelle et l'œil au guet, de sa branche ou bien de sa roche, il surveille la mer transparente.

Un poisson passe; il fond sur lui; l'assomme de sa vitesse extrême, et le ramène. Tant qu'il plonge, son trajet est sûr. Jamais il ne manque sa proie.

Sort-il de l'eau? c'est le contraire. Même quand il n'a plus rien au bec, c'est à peine s'il peut s'envoler. Il bat, il bat, il bat des ailes, en pagayant, et ne s'élève que lentement.

Tous les casse-tête sont comme lui. Tant qu'ils tombent, leurs coups sont terribles. Gare les épaules ou bien la tête. Dès qu'ils montent ils perdent leur force; s'égarent facilement en route; et, tout au plus, entament la peau.

Que nos hommes (au pied des glacis, dans les fossés, ou bien ailleurs, en contrebas) pour frapper un coup incertain se découvrent un seul instant; et, des talus, ou des banquettes, ou des crêtes des parapets, on les assomme incontinent.

Je ne veux pas que cela soit.

Nos fascines recevront les coups: avec nos lances, nous les rendrons: et nos fouennes, piquant les fagots, exciteront tellement leur ardeur, que leur feu tuera tout pour nous.»

Mopou, n'y tenant plus, reprit:

«Soufflez, soufflez, enfants du feu, soufflez que vos brandons s'enflamment; et qu'un vaste incendie consume Iouikao et tous les siens.»

Son jeune chef et lui se rapprochèrent alors, afin de mieux causer bataille.

De temps à autre ils chantaient.

Ma mère et moi nous pagayions.

Nous faisons route vers l'entrée. Le courant nous était contraire. Nous ne l'étalions qu'à grand peine. Nos deux guerriers causaient toujours.

C'est seulement à la nuit close que nous rentrâmes dans la baie.

Pendant vingt jours on prépara tout ce qu'on destinait au siège. Après quoi on se mit en route.

La promesse qu'il avait faite, Akaroa la tint entière. Iouikao, et tous les siens, et tout ce qui était à eux périrent consumés dans les flammes.

Ce sacrifice, sans pareil; Maoui l'eut pour si agréable; que la vie de mon bien-aimé devint, à partir de ce jour, une vraie marche triomphale.

LA CONSTELLATION DES AKAROA

MON CHER ET VÉNÉRÉ TUTEUR,

Les efforts de la bonne Eki, son émotion et ses regrets, en nous racontant son histoire, valurent à cette pauvre femme une crise des plus violentes.

Elle en sortit brisée, rompue, ne pouvant même plus parler.

Deux heures d'un plein et bon sommeil lui rendirent quelque peu de force.

En se réveillant, elle nous dit:

«Eki est brisée pour toujours! Vienne le génie du Magnanime la visiter encore une fois, et son veuvage finira.

Sa vie est maintenant pendue à un fil plus mince et plus frêle que celui du formium frais. Quand Maoui aura, de nouveau, reconquis sa terre lumineuse; ce dernier lien se brisera.»

Bonne Eki, dit alors mon maître, pourquoi ces funestes présages? Ma science, tu le sais, possède...

— Et pourquoi prolonger ma vie? ... N'ai-je donc point assez souffert? ... N'aimé-je donc plus Akaroa? ... Il m'oublierait à trop attendre! ... Qui sait, s'il me reconnaîtra?

Maoui l'a dit: que le Mahouri, dès qu'il souffre, soit Tabou pour les autres hommes. Que le malade et le valide n'habitent jamais sous le même toit.

Il faut vous retirer tous deux.

— Eki, si, chez les Mahouris, l'occasion éveille parfois l'avarice; puis la violence; puis même le crime ...

— Ce qu'a fait Maoui est bien fait. Les préceptes qu'il nous donna, nous devons, tous tant que nous sommes, les suivre et non les expliquer.

— Ainsi les secours qu'autrefois? ...

— ... Si j'ai violé sa sainte loi; il t'appartient, moins qu'à tout autre, de le dire.

Oh! noble Eki, reprit mon maître en baisant sa main décharnée, pardonne à ton meilleur ami.

La pauvre femme n'entendait plus.

Comme un enfant, qui a lutté trop longtemps contre le sommeil, succombe et s'endort brusquement; elle aussi venait de céder à son excessive fatigue.

Nous la couvrîmes avec soin; et la veillâmes toute la nuit.

Le jour venu, elle reprit:

«Il faut vous éloigner tous deux. Écoutez-moi: et puis partez.

Après ma mort, Toma-Kéké vous remettra mon coffret rouge, mes longs et beaux pendants d'oreilles, et le grigri d'Akaroa.»

Toma-Kéké! mais c'est un traître, fit mon maître tout étonné.

— Pourquoi m’interrompre déjà?
 Ne suis-je point assez épuisée?
 Eki l’a fait trembler vivante. Eki morte le fera trembler.

Tu donneras, au chef des Oui-Oui, le grigri de mon noble époux; pour qu’il vienne protéger mon peuple.

Tu remettras à Ouéréra mon coffret rouge.

Je donne, à mon fils étranger, mes beaux et longs pendants en jade.

Tous les hommes papalanguis, se trouvant plus beaux que les femmes, méprisent de se parer comme elles. Ceux de mon pays sont plus sages, ils nous imitent et font bien. (Elle souriait en me regardant.)

Ornes-en donc celle qu’un jour tu épouseras. Ils brilleront à son oreille. Ils refléteront sur son visage la grâce printanière d’Eki. Tes yeux la trouveront plus belle. Peut-être, alors, tu l’aimeras ... comme Eki aime Akaroa.

Du radieux séjour des étoiles, plus haut que toutes les montagnes, mises les unes au-dessus des autres, on découvre la terre entière.

Mes yeux reconnaîtront mon jade. Il guidera vers moi les tiens. Une mère aime toujours revoir ses enfants, même étrangers.»

Eki un moment s’arrêta; puis elle reprit:

«La coutume de votre pays est de mourir parmi les siens: la nôtre de finir tout seul.

Comme ont fait mes pères, je ferai.

Des pleurs; mais pas de funérailles.

Les Taipos porteront mon corps au sein des montagnes de neige, dans la tombe où ils mirent Mopou.

Les Moas envoleront mon âme, parmi ses sœurs les étoiles, au groupe de mes bien-aimés.»

Dessinait alors; sur le sable, une figure de six côtés; elle montra chacun de ses angles, à partir du plus élevé; et dit (tournant de gauche à droite):

«Akaroa, le chef aux six doigts; son père, l’Ariki magnanime; son épouse la belle Taia:

Eki, la dernière d’eux tous; Ea, son excellente mère; et Mopou le hardi chasseur:

Au centre, mon enfant, tout seul.

Ainsi nous fûmes, sur la terre; ainsi nous serons tous au ciel.

Les trois hommes ont beaucoup d’éclat: ils brillent en haut. Les trois femmes, bien plus modestes, scintillent en bas. Le plus faible, mais le meilleur, est au centre de tous les autres: sa lumière est aussi plus douce.

Comme nous avons brillé sur terre; nous brillerons aussi au ciel.»

Et reprenant en sens inverse la figure qu’elle avait faite:

Taia, la belle, morte d’abord; le Magnanime; puis leur enfant.

Puis Mopou, le hardi chasseur; puis sa femme; et leur fille enfin.

Toujours seul, le fils d’Eki.

Dans l’ordre où nous quittâmes la terre; nous serons tous rangés au ciel.»

Et faisant, une dernière fois, l’énumération de ses angles d’une manière encore différente:

«A droite, l'Ariki des mers; et sa femme, la belleTaia:
 A gauche, le hardi chasseur; et la sienne, l'excellente Ea:
 Entre eux quatre, l'Ariki des flammes; son enfant, le chef aux yeux bleus; sa
 mère, la pieuse et bonne Eki.
 Ainsi, nous fûmes mariés sur terre; ainsi nous le serons au ciel.»

Elle sourait, en nous parlant, et ses yeux brillaient de bonheur.

Était-ce d'avoir rangé les siens, sans laisser son enfant tout seul? Était-ce de
 n'avoir plus à vivre qu'un mois lunaire, tout au plus? Était-ce ...

Pourquoi tant de questions?

Eki est rentrée dans sa case. Rien ne la ferait nous répondre.

Laissons-lui, de nos provisions, le plus qu'il nous sera possible; et
 conformons-nous à ses ordres.

UN CHEMIN DE TRAVERSE

MON CHER ET BON TUTEUR,

Nous venons de quitter Eki et sommes en route, l'un derrière l'autre, comme
 vont toujours les Mahouris. Nous suivons un de leurs sentiers, ou plutôt une de leurs
 pistes. Comme ils marchent les pieds tout droits, et que, toujours, ils posent l'un
 dans l'empreinte laissée par l'autre; leur trace est extrêmement étroite. Ce n'est pas là
 son seul défaut; car, à chaque instant, elle s'égare dans les fougères, ou bien se noie
 dans les flaques d'eau.

Notre route est des plus pénibles; fatigue pour les jambes et les yeux!

A mi-côte, le terrain est sec et criblé de longues fissures, qui s'entrouvent sous
 notre poids. Dans les bas fonds (autre supplice) ce sont le formium et la boue, qui
 nous arrêtent à chaque instant.

Nous longeons le pied des coteaux, au bord du lac, et dépensons un temps
 énorme à toujours monter et descendre, pour suivre notre maudit chemin. Le voilà
 noyé dans une mare. Impossible de le retrouver. Eh bien! tant mieux; qu'il aille au
 diable; et avançons en ligne droite.

Nous avançons et nous voilà perdus! En plein jour, en rase campagne et
 voyant partout l'horizon.

Nous n'avions pas huit milles à faire. Nous avons devancé l'aurore. Le soleil
 va passer midi. La chaleur devient excessive. Les jambes pèsent. Le corps s'affaisse.
 La fatigue vient. Le but nous touche, en quelque sorte, et nous ne pouvons y
 atteindre. Nous sommes en pleine fondrière!

A droite, rien pour poser le pied. A gauche, roseaux infranchissables. Devant,
 de la tourbe haut comme nous. Derrière, ... derrière, ce n'est pas la route!

Oh! Supplice horrible!

Se battre une journée entière contre la terre, contre la vase et contre l'eau;
 contre les fougères et les buissons, les roseaux et le formium, qui nous refusent le
 passage; contre les herbes et contre les algues qui nous empoignent par les pieds; et,
 qui pis est, contre les fougères qui, cent fois plus méchantes, nous secouent au visage
 les sporules innombrables de leur pollen si corrosif.

Nous avons la gorge brûlante; les paupières rouges et tuméfiées. Si du moins, dans l'eau jusqu'au ventre, nous pouvions boire? Hélas! En haussant son niveau, en nous noyant notre chemin; le grand lac s'est fait saumâtre.

Pour en sortir, prenons des forces!

Faisons, comme près de nous peut-être, font les râles et les poules d'eau: Mangeons!

Je mange et me gorge d'eau-de-vie, tout en continuant à faire route. Donc me voilà, marchant, nageant, pestant, jurant et trébuchant, derrière mon noble maître; pendant qu'il avance avec calme.

Nous sommes sauvés, crie-t-il enfin, j'aperçois l'isthme. Un dernier effort, du courage!

Un dernier effort, du courage! J'arrive et tombe dans ses bras, délirant de fièvre et d'ivresse.

LA LUNE ET SES PHASES

Nous retournons auprès d'Eki en passant par le petit lac.

Rien de plus triste et de plus sombre que sa vallée! Deux lieues de long: un demi-mille au plus de large: et, de chaque bord, des montagnes de 800 mètres et plus de haut.

Au milieu serpente, ou mieux, stagne une rivière plate, glacée, lente et silencieuse, que forment les torrents des montagnes. En ses eaux (qui vont se perdre ... on ne sait où!) le soleil (l'été seulement, et tout au plus pendant une heure, aux plus longs jours) se mire parfois à regret.

Son fond est encombré d'herbages. Les plantes, qu'on trouve sur ses rives, sont sans couleurs ni parfums. Elles ne fleurissent que rarement et jamais ne portent de fruits.

Dans ce grand cercueil entr'ouvert, les rats eux-mêmes ne peuvent vivre; et les oiseaux, qui le traversent, y perdent la voix en passant.

Pas une mélodie, même triste, en ce lieu sombre et désolé. Dans l'herbe, pas un cri d'insecte. Dans l'air, pas une plainte du vent.

Pour lumière, une ombre éternelle: et pour atmosphère, la tristesse.

Le cœur se serre en y entrant.

Tout ce qui veut de l'air, pour vivre, y devient malade et stérile.

Les graines, que le hasard y jette, poussent des végétaux rabougris. Les animaux qui s'y égarent, y languissent immédiatement; et bientôt meurent. L'anguille seule, rampante et vivace, trouve moyen d'y subsister: encore y devient-elle aveugle.

Les Mahouris, qui tous les ans viennent la pêcher, ont soin d'arriver en bon nombre: afin de n'avoir pas trop peur.

C'était pour les surprendre à l'œuvre; et visiter la grotte d'Eki; que nous avions choisi cette route.

Pour la pêche, il était trop tard! Quant à la grotte, nous la vîmes. C'était un simple renfoncement, dans un rocher, bien masqué d'arbres. Nous eûmes peine à le découvrir. Il était déjà dégradé.

Dans la pierre on avait sculpté, fort grossièrement, un homme, à moitié accroupi, qu'une femme portait sur la tête. Celle-ci, pareillement accroupie, était supportée par un disque; et ce disque, porté lui-même, par un homme accroupi aussi.

Les sexes étaient si accentués, qu'on ne pouvait pas s'y méprendre.

Que représentait cette image? L'histoire de la presqu'île de Bancks; que, mon maître, chemin faisant, me raconta, d'après Eki, voici comment:

«Le père de tous les Mahouris, après avoir pêché sa terre, y mit sa femme et ses enfants. Ils y vivaient bien tranquillement, quand leur mauvais génie survint.

C'était un géant redoutable que les îles de Maoui tentaient. Il voulait manger ses enfants et, de plus, convoitait sa femme.

Maoui, puissant autant que brave, vainquit cet ennemi terrible; le jeta au fond de la mer; et mit sur lui force montagnes. Ainsi commença la presqu'île.

Le génie, glacé par le froid, se tint coi pendant tout l'hiver. Mais, lorsque revint la chaleur, il se réchauffa et bougea.

La terre, aussitôt, se fendit. Aussitôt la mer y entra. La baie d'Akaroa se fit.

Maoui s'empessa d'accourir, apportant de nouvelles montagnes, et rechargea son ennemi.

L'hiver encore il se tint coi. Mais, l'été d'après, rebougeant, il causa une fente nouvelle, dont la mer, en entrant, forma Pigeon-bay. Alors Maoui recommença.

Au printemps suivant, en bougeant, le génie fit une autre fente, où l'eau forma le petit lac. Maoui, furieux, tripla la charge de son vaincu qui, depuis lors, ne put jamais (en remuant à chaque printemps) que faire un peu trembler la terre; mais sans la fendre. Ainsi fut finie la presqu'île.

Maoui mourut longtemps après; puis sa femme; puis ses enfants.

Leurs âmes s'envolèrent toutes au ciel; où Maoui, pêchant, prit la lune qu'ils habitèrent.

A son tour le géant mourut. Son âme, en arrivant au ciel, s'en fut recombattre Maoui qui le vainquit, là comme sur la terre, et mit sur lui sa nouvelle île.

Ne pouvant bouger, il la ronge et puis l'avale; pour se venger. Donc, peu à peu, elle diminue et disparaît.

Elle disparaît? mais elle l'étouffe; tant elle est grosse à digérer. Pour se soulager, il la rend. C'est ce qui fait qu'elle reparaît.

Les exploits qu'ils ont fait, sur terre; les héros les refont au ciel. Par ces signes, ils rappellent, aux hommes, qu'ils doivent toujours les imiter.»

Cette fable, dis-je à mon très cher maître, vaut bien celle du char d'Apollon.

Et, celle aussi de l'arc-en-ciel, répondit-il; tous ces mythes sont de même force et dictés par le même esprit.

Les idées de l'homme se forment, en suivant des lois invariables. Son cerveau est partout le même. C'est en voyant, aux mêmes âges, les mêmes objets et les mêmes faits se reproduire, qu'il a les mêmes conceptions.

Le silence, l'obscurité, la mort, l'âme (idées tristes et vagues) ont quelque chose de commun. Les yeux et les étoiles brillent. Les trépassés hantent la nuit. C'est par les astres qu'ils regardent. Maoui et le géant, la Nouvelle-Zélande et la lune (îles sur mer et dans les cieux) sont choses qui se tiennent et disent: bataille continuelle. Ainsi pensent les Mahouris.

Ils expliquent les faits de l'espace et ceux du temps, les mouvements des astres et des hommes, par les seules choses qu'ils connaissent: leurs propres coutumes. Ceux qui adoraient Jupiter (exterminateur de Saturne, l'anthropophage du vieux monde) ne raisonnaient pas autrement.

Les cieux racontent les gloires de l'homme. Immuables, inaccessibles à tous, ils sont le livre du passé. Ils gardent, sans les altérer, les événements de la terre et les secrets qu'on leur confie. Tous les enfants, hommes ou peuples, alors qu'ils sentent plus qu'ils ne pensent, y suspendent leurs souvenirs; et, dans l'âge mûr, oublient leurs peines, en adorant ce beau fétiche, doux confident de leur jeunesse.

Nous avions, en causant ainsi, quitté la grotte et parcouru toute sa vallée. Arrivés sur le haut du morne, qui la sépare du grand lac, nous nous arrêtâmes encore, pour voir un étrange spectacle.

ŒUVRE SACRÉE

Dans une brume lumineuse, mobile et défigurant tout par ses bouffées toujours roulantes, dans une atmosphère lourde et puante de feuilles et de graisse brûlées; une vingtaine de Mahouris, séparés par des tas de branches et d'anguilles, formaient et déformaient sans cesse un petit cercle autour d'un feu.

Au milieu d'eux; quatre poteaux lourds et massifs (échancrés sur 15 pouces de haut, à cause des rats) supportaient, à dix pieds du sol, une large claie formant plate-forme; sous laquelle pendaient, fort serrés, de nombreux cadavres d'anguilles, au plus épais de la fumée.

Par-dessus; tantôt en rampant, tantôt dans une autre attitude, circulaient des silhouettes humaines.

Latéralement, c'en était d'autres, qui montaient ou redescendaient sur de longues poutres inclinées.

Dans ce nuage artificiel; la fumée, le chaud et la fatigue faisaient (très fréquemment) gémir et bizarrement se contourner toutes ces formes qui se heurtaient; en allant et venant, se croisant et s'entre-croisant dans tous les sens.

Jurons de dépit, cris de joie, moqueries ou bien compliments, tous mots sonores et gutturaux s'entremêlaient autour du feu, dans ces vapeurs toujours roulantes de bois vert et d'huile brûlée.

Chacun, à chaque instant, changeait de posture et d'occupation, dans cette cuisine diabolique; où la vue, le goût, l'odorat étaient torturés tour à tour.

Poissons morts et hommes vivants! tout s'y tordait, tout y criait: les anguilles, pour se dessécher; les hommes, pour voir et respirer; le feu, pour crier après l'huile; le bois vert, pour ne pas brûler.

En travaillant, comme un enfant, avec ardeur et tout en jouant, chacun préparait son poisson.

Aussitôt prêt, on le pendait.

C'était trop bas, ou bien trop haut. Il fallait monter et descendre; puis remonter et redescendre, à travers les cris et les gestes des travailleurs. Tous critiquaient ou se moquaient, mais personne n'aidait personne.

Homme ou femme, enfant ou vieillard, chacun, activé pour son compte, essuyait, fendait et ouvrait, puis étalait et embrochait, et puis, finalement, enfilait son anguille; pour la porter au grand séchoir, où la fumée, le soleil et le vent venaient aider ces travailleurs à boucaner leurs provisions.

On allait vite. Il faisait chaud. Tout était à faire en un jour. La putréfaction commençait. Et puis! C'était œuvre sacrée.

Œuvre Sacrée!

Ainsi l'homme est partout le même. Pour vaincre son imprévoyance, tout en domptant sa gourmandise; pour empêcher qu'il ne périclite d'indigestion, dans le présent, et de misère, dans l'avenir, il faut l'intervention suprême.

Grâce au Tabou, tout alla bien. L'ouvrage finit avec le jour.

Alors on se mit à souper; puis à rire, causer et fumer; puis, enfin, à se retirer.

EKI AU CIEL

Nos bons hôtes, les Mahouris, sont tous allés se reposer. Nous voilà seuls au bord de mer.

Avons-nous bien fait de rester, si longtemps, près du petit lac? ... D'examiner, tant en détail, la grotte de la bonne Eki? ... De regarder les Mahouris faisant leurs conserves d'anguilles? ... Et d'ajourner, jusqu'à demain, notre visite à notre amie?

Ces questions restent sans réponses. Nous les posons, sans y penser, en regardant tous deux la plage, presque en rêvant!

... Les dernières lueurs du jour s'effacent. Les formes deviennent indécises. Le mystère se répand partout! Le ciel pur s'enrichit d'étoiles. La nuit commence délicieuse.

Les astres lui prêtent leur clarté, pâle, douce et silencieuse; ... la terre, sa lente et tiède haleine; ... la mer, son clapotis lointain; ... les algues, leurs parfums sauvages.

Des ondes sonores, ... odorantes, ... chaudes et lumineuses (à peine) se balancent harmonieusement, dans le vague de l'atmosphère; et ..., bercé par elles, tout languit, tout s'endort ... d'un doux sommeil.

Pourquoi veillons-nous seuls tous deux? Pourquoi le suave murmure nocturne (le prélude du repos heureux qui atteint l'air, la terre et l'eau) a-t-il, sur nous, si peu d'empire?

Comme un chant plaintif et lointain ... que le cœur dicte ... mais dont les strophes ... effacées par la distance, ... laissent la pensée indécise, entre l'espoir et le regret; la mélodie, qui nous entoure, balance notre âme oscillante, entre la joie et la tristesse.

Nous retournons vers une amie!

La trouverons-nous encore vivante, dans la douleur et la misère? Ou bien, sera-t-elle morte (enfin!) et délivrée de ses souffrances?

Devrons-nous la plaindre, demain?

Demain, devrons-nous la pleurer?

Questions qu'il ne faut pas résoudre; tant le mal et le bien s'y tiennent!

C'est ainsi que mon maître et moi (les regards tournés vers le ciel) nous passions d'une idée à l'autre (comme nos yeux d'étoile en étoile) sans nous arrêter à aucune (comme eux sans trouver la plus belle).

Le céleste cortège avance. La lune y vient prendre sa place. A son approche, quelques astres pâlisent et semblent s'humilier. On dirait qu'ils saluent leur reine!

Elle calme, grande et majestueuse, sort du sein de la mer paisible et jette ses feux sur son cristal.

Ils glissent promptement jusqu'au rivage; et viennent baiser doucement la terre; sans l'éveiller.

La nuit n'en paraît que plus belle!

Nous admirons!

Un court moment, notre tristesse est suspendue; et nos âmes retombent ensuite dans leur douce mélancolie.

.....

Les astres poursuivaient leur marche. Trois grosses étoiles se montrèrent (une d'abord, puis deux ensemble) à l'horizon. Sous la plus brillante, une moindre, et, sous les autres, deux encore vinrent, comme l'avait dit Eki.

Nos yeux et nos pensées suivaient.

«La septième va-t-elle donc ...»

Elle paraît.

«Eki est morte!»

Ainsi nous serions-nous écriés en même temps; si, derrière nous, des pas lourds et précipités ne s'étaient fait entendre.

Chut, fit mon maître. Toma-Kéké! Ne bougeons plus.

Le sauvage poursuit sa route. Il avance; nous l'attendons.

Dès qu'il est à notre portée, nous nous levons. Mais, vite, il se jette à plat ventre; et dirige, en rampant, sa course vers les hautes herbes du grand lac.

Peine inutile! Mon maître le relève et dit:

Je te croyais, Toma-Kéké, aussi brave la nuit que le jour?

Moi! fait-il, en se remettant. Je n'ai pas peur! Mais mon trésor?...

Et mon maître de répliquer:

«Ton trésor ou le mien, voleur! Qui sait, peut-être?...

Si tu ne crains pas les génies qui, la nuit, hantent cette plaine; crains du moins les Akaroas.

Vois Eki; et vois son enfant!

Vois son époux; et vois son père!

Vois leurs sept âmes immortelles qui guident deux amis vengeurs, vers un messager infidèle.»

Toma-Kéké, plus mort que vif, laissa tomber le coffret rouge; et disparut.

DERNIERS DEVOIRS

C'est le matin, de très bonne heure. Il fait grande brume. Nous partons inhumer Eki.

Toma-Kéké ouvre la marche. Les Mahouris viennent ensuite. Mon maître et moi nous les suivons.

Le cortège, tout d'une file, contourne lentement le grand lac. Ce sont les femmes qui le retardent.

Elles sont chargées du bois, des vivres, et des ustensiles nécessaires au festival des funérailles.

Les hommes, libres de tous fardeaux, daignent, pour les soulager un peu, régler leur marche sur la leur.

Ils causent. Ils rient. Ils pleurent; ou chantent quelques versets pour la défunte. Bref ils se tiennent du mieux qu'ils peuvent; et font effort pour être tristes.

Mon maître m'entretient tout bas. Il me dit les malheurs d'Eki; son grand courage; son savoir et surtout sa grande bonté. Puis il me parle des Mahouris; m'engage à ne me point blesser de leurs façons qui, toujours, choquent de prime abord; me fait voir qu'ils sont comme les bêtes, les plantes et presque tous les êtres, que n'a pas encore désarmés une civilisation puissante; et, finalement, me félicite d'avoir été si tendrement aimé d'Eki, que forcément j'ai dû l'aimer.

Les sauvages sont de grands enfants, beaucoup plus forts (pour leur malheur!) physiquement que mentalement. Croire, d'après leur taille et leur âge, qu'ils peuvent raisonner en hommes; c'est incriminer tous leurs actes; suspecter toutes leurs paroles; les détester injustement; et s'interdire, par cela même, l'intelligence de leurs coutumes. Car la haine rend toujours aveugles.

Tel est le thème que me développe mon très cher et vénéré maître.

Causant ainsi; nous avançons.

Tout à coup le convoi s'arrête.

Les Moas et les Taipos! crient les Mahouris consternés.

Nous regardons; le cœur me bat!

Dans la brume, déjà moins forte; je vois des oiseaux (vrais géants!) qui vont, viennent, planent et tourbillonnent tout autour de la case d'Eki; et je m'arrête épouvanté.

Une balle, dans chaque canon, dit mon maître, en allant toujours.

J'obéis, comme une machine, mais sans oser bouger de place.

Alors, il s'arrête à son tour; se met à rire, en me voyant tout pétrifié, et m'entraîne, en me faisant honte.

— Viens, dit-il, le brouillard te trompe, comme il fait tous ces Mahouris. Les monstres, qui te font si peur, ne sont que des oiseaux de proie, dont la brume et ton étonnement exagèrent les dimensions. Grâce à Mopou, les chiens, ici, sont seuls à craindre; encore vont-ils prendre la fuite.

Marchons!

Je le suis. Les Mahouris restent.

Nous avançons. Nous courons même, en entendant un bruit confus.

Plus nous allons, et plus les rats nous filent nombreux dans les jambes; plus les cris deviennent distincts; plus nous voyons les herbes hautes, les tiges et les feuilles de formium s'agiter de brusques mouvements; mieux on entend les chiens hurler; et, plus aussi, les vols immenses de toutes sortes d'oiseaux de proie (de terre, de rivage et de mer) accélèrent, grandissent et élèvent les tourbillons, dont ils couronnent la case de la pauvre Eki.

Nous avançons de toutes nos forces; ... nous arrivons; ... trop tard, hélas!

Du sang, des cheveux, des lambeaux de couverture mahourie souillent la terre.

Où est Eki?

Les herbes, encore entr'ouvertes, nous disent la route des ravisseurs.

Nous y courons; nous les suivons; nous les touchons, pour ainsi dire; un maudit cours d'eau nous arrête; et tous nos efforts sont perdus.

La pauvre Eki s'en va flottante, entraînée par des chiens avides.
 Feu! crie mon maître.
 La meute plonge et disparaît.
 Le cadavre perd sa vitesse; hésite un peu; et s'engloutit.
 Nous attendons. Rien ne remonte. Navrés, nous rebroussons chemin.

.....

Les vampires de l'air sont partis. Ceux de la terre ont disparu. Les herbes sont toutes redressées. Le grand lac a repris son calme, son silence et sa majesté!

Les Mahouris, pressés de fuir, pleurent et chantent, en se retirant. Leurs voix, seules, viennent se joindre aux nôtres, au domaine déjà ruiné.

«Salut, gîte pauvre et sauvage!
 Salut, chétive palissade!
 Triste case, en lambeaux, salut!»

Une voix sauvage, venant de loin. — Eki est morte?

Une autre voix. — Eki n'est plus!

Chœur mahouri. — Eki est morte, Eki n'est plus! Que son champ et sa palissade et sa case aussi soient taboués!

«Salut, tas de boue misérable, dont la masse informe abrita ce que la terre mahourie eut de plus sage et de meilleur.

Dernier asile du malheur, que les eaux, les plantes et les bêtes vont s'empresse d'anéantir; salut pour la dernière fois!»

Les voix puis le chœur de plus loin. — Les Taipos ont porté son corps au sein des montagnes de neige!

Les Moas ont guidé son âme, parmi ses sœurs les étoiles, au groupe des Akaroas!

Les monstres vaincus, par son père, sont restés fidèles à sa voix!

Les oiseaux et les chiens sauvages ont lacéré ton pauvre corps. Les poissons vont le dévorer. Mais ton âme lui survivra, dans les cœurs nobles et généreux.

Les jeunes filles l'invoqueront: elle consolera les pauvres mères; les femmes dévouées la béniront.»

Le lointain faiblissant encore. — La bru du Magnanime est morte! Qui nous gardera des Moas?

La fille de Mopou n'est plus! Qui nous défendra des Taipos?

Qui, maintenant, nous sauvera et des Taipos et des Moas?

«Tu m'as enseigné les douleurs de ceux qui nous ont précédés.
 Tu m'as fait songer au bonheur de ceux qui doivent nous succéder.
 Par le passé, par l'avenir; tu nous as fait communier avec toute l'humanité.»

Le lointain faiblissant toujours. — La fille de Mopou n'est plus! Qui chassera les fils du Nord?

La bru du Magnanime est morte! Qui repoussera les gens du Sud?

Qui maintenant nous sauvera des enfants du chaud et du froid?

Par toi, j'ai compris le bonheur dont j'aurais joui, en étant père.

Par toi, j'ai senti les délices que m'aurait prodigués ma mère.

Tu nous as, tous deux, confirmés dans le besoin de nous dévouer.»

Des sons perceptibles à peine. — La femme d'Akaroa est morte! Qui fera peur à Tikao?

La mère d'Akaroa n'est plus! Qui renverra les étrangers?

Qui, maintenant, nous sauvera des ennemis de l'intérieur ... et, surtout, nous préservera du tonnerre des Papalanguis?

«Eki, placée, par tes vertus, dans le sein de l'humanité (où ton âme va plaider la cause de tes frères, plus qu'opprimés) prie ce grand maître de la terre d'accorder, à tes deux amis, une constance égale à la tienne.»

Enfin, comme un dernier adieu, qu'aurait tronqué la douleur même. — Akaroas! Quand, tous les sept, vous viendrez, la nuit, visiter votre beau grand lac; amenez avec vous Maoui, pour ... qu'il ...

La distance absorba le reste.

1

FOLEY'S LIFE

Antoine Édouard Foley was born in Paris on 13 March 1820, the son of a jeweller. Graduating from the École Polytechnique in 1841, he joined the Navy in 1842, and went to the South Pacific as a junior officer on the *Rhin* from 1842 until 1846. On his return to France, although promoted to Lieutenant, he eventually left the Navy and studied medicine at the École de Médecine in Paris, graduating in 1855. He frequented Positivist circles and became a close associate of Auguste Comte. Foley married Sara Jullien on 13 September 1856 and fathered eight children between 1857 and 1869. He practised medicine in Mantes-la-Jolie in the late 1850s and then, in the 1860s and 1870s, in Paris. He published a number of books and articles, including *Eki* in 1874 and, after retiring to the village of Andrésy just outside of Paris, he died there on 25 November 1901, a Positivist to the end.

Certain periods and aspects of Foley's life are quite well documented. The official despatches of Captain Bérard and the log of the *Rhin* (small sections of which were written by Foley himself) describe in some detail the experiences he went through during this 1840s expedition to the South Pacific.¹ His personal file in the Service Historique de la Marine at Vincennes includes numerous documents for the period 1842 to 1854 when he was either on active service or on sick leave.² His long friendship with fellow officer Charles Meryon has left an extensive correspondence covering a period from the 1840s up to Meryon's death in 1868.³ Foley's letters to Meryon have not survived, but the letters he wrote to Meryon's father have. For his part, Foley kept the letters which Meryon wrote to him and they are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Foley's friendship with the philosopher Auguste Comte and other Positivists produced letters which are particularly revelatory of his thinking in the 1850s, and some letters from later periods are also to be found in the Maison d'Auguste Comte archives.⁴ Letters to the Saint-Simonian leader, Prosper

¹ Station de la Nouvelle-Zélande, 1837-1846, Archives Nationales, Paris: Marine BB4 1011; *Le Rhin*, casernet de bord, Journal des officiers, 1842-1846, Archives du Port de Toulon.

² Foley dossier, Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC⁷ 1098.

³ Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Yb³ 1673 Réserve; British Library: Add. Mss 37015 and 37016.

⁴ Maison d'Auguste Comte, 10 rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris: Foley dossier; Auguste Comte,

Enfantin, who became his friend and patron after Comte's death, are to be found in the Fonds Enfantin of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. These date from the late 1850s and the early 1860s, for Enfantin did not long outlive Comte. At least one aspect of Foley's intellectual life between 1875 and 1886 can be followed in the proceedings of the Société d'anthropologie in Paris⁵: he often attended its fortnightly meetings, presented a number of papers and participated actively in discussions. Although he joined the society after the publication of *Eki*, the society's proceedings shed a great deal of light on the anthropological principles that underpin the novel.

Biographical details are relatively sparse for the period after 1870 which, of course, includes the publication of *Eki* in 1874. Bottin almanachs, though, provide Foley's addresses while he was a practising doctor and he continues to be listed as a doctor in Paris almanachs up until 1877. His published works, which began during the Second Empire and continued through the political upheavals and changes of regime (the Franco-Prussian War, the fall of Napoleon III, the Commune and the setting up of the Third Republic in the early 1870s), also provide insights into his political and philosophical thinking. The names of witnesses to the official registrations of family births, deaths and marriages, held now in the Archives de la Ville de Paris and the Departmental Archives of Yvelines (formerly Seine-et-Oise), provide intermittent indications of his social contacts over a longer period of time. These registers are the main sources of information on his life after his final publication in 1886. Foley also stopped attending the meetings of the Société d'anthropologie that same year. Several brief letters from Sara to Positivist friends, now held by the Maison d'Auguste Comte, shed some light on Foley's final years, however, when his health was failing.

It has not been possible to locate two items that would provide crucial information on Foley's life: the diary he kept while he was in the Pacific and his wife Sara's reminiscences. "Je vous écris, mon journal du bord sous les yeux," he wrote in 1866⁶, but we have not been able to locate this manuscript work which he used when writing about the Pacific and which may no longer be extant. In preparing a book that was published in 1926, Gustave Geffroy was able to read Sara's account of her

Correspondance générale et confessions, 1973-1984, 6 vols.

⁵ *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*. Paris: Masson, 1860-1899.

⁶ *Quatre années en Océanie*, I (1866), p.19.

life with Foley and some elements from it have found their way into his text: “C’est Mme Foley qui inscrit ces détails dans ses « Souvenirs » dont son fils Charles Foley m’a si obligeamment communiqué les chapitres qui concernent Meryon” (40-1).⁷ What happened to these “Souvenirs” after Charles Foley’s death in 1956 is unfortunately not known, for finding Foley’s diary and Sara’s reminiscences would obviously provide a much fuller knowledge of Foley’s life and a more complete background to the writing of *Eki*.

Brief obituaries appeared in the *Revue universelle* and in *Polybiblion* soon after Foley’s death.⁸ Secondary sources that provide short biographies include the standard *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (tome 14, 1979) and Jean Ducros’s well-researched catalogue for a 1968 exhibition of Charles Meryon’s works. Three portraits of Foley are known and all three have been reproduced in Geffroy’s 1926 book, *Charles Meryon*: Jacques Léon Dusautoy (1817-1894) painted a portrait of Foley as a young man; Charles Meryon executed a drawing of Édouard Foley on board the *Rhin*; and Antoine Etex made two bas-relief medallions, “Édouard Foley” and “Sara Foley”, which depict the couple in their mature years.⁹ A very precise physical description of the young Foley is also found among his naval papers: “Taille de 1 mètre 69 centimètres, constitution physique bonne, visage ovale, front découvert, yeux bleus, nez moyen, bouche petite, menton rond, cheveux châtain clair, sourcils châtain clair”.¹⁰

Foley in the Pacific

Antoine Édouard Foley was 22 years old when he arrived in Akaroa, New Zealand, on 11 January 1843 on board the French corvette, the *Rhin*, which had been sent to replace the *Aube* and the *Allier* which had successively been on station in Akaroa Harbour since 1840 under Captain Lavaud. The *Rhin*, under Captain Bérard, was to oversee the French settlers who had landed at Akaroa in 1840, provide support for the French whaling ships which still called there quite frequently on their way to or from various Pacific whaling grounds, and assist the French missionaries stationed, not only in New Zealand, but on a number of small islands in Polynesia and

⁷ Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, pp.40-1.

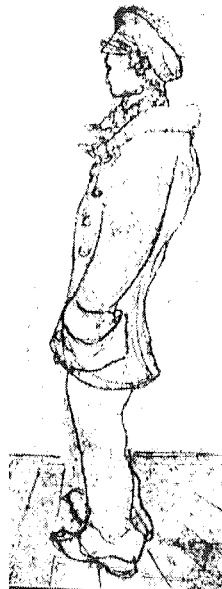
⁸ *Revue universelle*, no. 50 (14 décembre 1901), p.1199; *Polybiblion*, 2^e série, LIV, p.538.

⁹ Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, pp.9, 8 and 40.

¹⁰ Foley dossier, Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC⁷ 1098.

Melanesia where they had little back-up from either the Church or the French state.

Foley was an ‘élève de première classe’, one of eight trainee officers selected for their excellent qualifications. The *Rhin* had between 182 and 192 officers and men on board altogether. (Their number varied slightly in the course of the voyage.¹¹) It left the French port of Toulon on 15 August 1842 and returned to the same port on 28 August 1846, so this was a lengthy mission of just over four years. By the time he returned to France, Foley was 26 years old and had been promoted to the rank of ensign. These four years were important in his life and a number of good friendships were formed during the voyage, particularly among the junior officers. He had travelled widely and encountered different cultures. Foley would look back on his time in the Pacific fondly and recall his experiences in a number of books that he published, including most obviously *Quatre années en Océanie* (1866, 1876) and *Eki* (1874).



Foley on board the *Rhin*, a sketch by Meryon

For a good part of the time he spent in the Pacific, Foley was in Akaroa, but, for various strategic or logistic reasons, the *Rhin* made a number of voyages around the Pacific and visited many different places, as the following chronology indicates:¹²

¹¹ Louis Arnoux, Rapport médical, 31 August 1846 (Archives de l'Hôpital maritime, Toulon).

¹² Casernets de bord de la corvette le *Rhin* (WTu: Micro MS 855, reel 5); Ducros, *Charles Meryon*, item 40.

dates	port	days
15 Aug 1842	Left Toulon	
12-23 Oct	Bahia (Brazil)	11
27 Dec-3 Jan 1843	Hobart	7
11 Jan-5 May	Akaroa	114
12-15 May	Port Nicholson/Wellington	3
2-11 June	Auckland	9
22 June-10 Oct	Akaroa	110
31 Oct-5 Nov	Bay of Islands	5
22 Nov-17 Dec	Port Jackson (New South Wales)	25
31 Dec-31 Aug 1844	Akaroa	244
23 Oct-7 Nov	Valparaiso (Chile)	15
10-11 Dec	Waitahu (Marquesas Islands)	1
13-15 Dec	Nukahiva (Marquesas Islands)	2
21 Dec-4 Jan 1845	Papeete (Tahiti)	14
26-28 Jan	Bay of Islands	2
8 Feb-12 May	Akaroa	93
23-29 May	Bay of Islands	6
7-14 June	Tonga	7
18 June-4 July	Uvea (Wallis Island)	16
4 July	Futuna	1
18-25 Aug	Port-du-Rhin, Galleleup (Marshall Islands)	7
27 Sep-6 Oct	Ballade (New Caledonia)	9
29 Oct-12 Jan 1846	Port Jackson (New South Wales)	75
22 Jan	Bay of Islands	1
28 Jan-3 Feb	Auckland	6
11 Feb-16 April	Akaroa	64
15-20 June	James Town (St Helena)	5
25 June	Ascension Island	1
18-21 Aug	Mers-el-Kebir (Algeria)	3
28 Aug	Returned to Toulon	

This table shows that Foley visited a number of Polynesian islands, as well as New Zealand: the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti (where France had political and strategic interests), Tonga, and Wallis and Futuna (which all had French mission stations). He also visited two Melanesian or Micronesian islands, New Caledonia (where they took supplies to the French missionaries) and Galleleup (where they acted to avenge some sailors from the *Ang  lina*, a French whaling ship, who had been killed). To renew supplies or maintain the ship, they also spent some months in Australia and a fortnight in Chile. Other islands were seen from the sea and, both at Akaroa and elsewhere, Foley would have had frequent opportunities to meet and talk with sailors who had travelled to other places. The officers of the *Rhin* had access, albeit irregular, to newspapers, notably from Wellington, Sydney, London and Paris and all

this gave Foley quite a broad view of the South Pacific.

When it was at Akaroa, the *Rhin* was moored off the French village in Paka-ariki (also known as French Bay). There were various facilities on shore for the officers and crew, including a house for the captain, a small hospital and a garden in the French village, and, on the other side of Akaroa Harbour, a French naval farm which was also used for scientific observations. The crew of the *Rhin* were employed on shore to help create some sort of infrastructure for the colony. They made roads, built bridges, helped out French settlers when they were ill, and built a church and three blockhouses, the latter to be used by the European settlers if the Maori were to attack them. Visiting French whaling ships were repaired and the French naval hospital provided free medical services for the local inhabitants and visiting sailors of all nations. The officers, including Foley for the last two years of the campaign after his promotion to ensign, took turns on watch and recorded entries in the ship's log and they were also involved in various scientific endeavours, which included recording weather data, checking tide gauges, taking magnetic readings, collecting botanical, zoological and geological specimens, and charting the coastline.¹³

All through the voyage, there were regular lessons two or three times a week for the crew. These were often the equivalent of primary school education since fifty-two of the crew could neither read nor write when they left France, and this deficiency was largely made good during the campaign. Foley was very much involved in this task, taking regular mathematics classes:

Un cours de mathématiques a été professé par M. Foley, élève de 1^{ère} classe: La plupart des matelots en ont profité et huit d'entre eux sont capables de passer l'examen de maître au petit cabotage. Ils observent la hauteur méridienne du soleil, prennent et calculent des angles horaires et, l'un d'eux, a fait plusieurs fois des calculs de longitude par les distances de la lune au soleil, observées par lui et ses camarades qui prenaient les hauteurs de la lune et du soleil.¹⁴

Il a rendu en outre un grand service à l'équipage du *Rhin*, en professant pendant tout le voyage un cours de mathématiques à la portée des matelots.¹⁵

¹³ P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, ch.13.

¹⁴ Captain Bérard reference for Foley, 10 Nov. 1846 (Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC⁷ 1098, Foley's personal dossier).

¹⁵ Captain Bérard reference for Foley, 15 Sept. 1846 (Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC⁷ 1098, Foley's personal dossier).

Foley was seen by Bérard as more of an intellectual than a practical man and Akaroa, certainly, did not offer many distractions for an intelligent young man. It was a small community and the settlers were poorly educated, but it does seem to have at least offered alcohol, women and song to visiting sailors, and some of the officers on the *Rhin* set up a freemasonry lodge, although there is no record of Foley being involved.¹⁶ Foley's fellow trainee officer and friend, Charles Meryon, took a room ashore where he could study and pursue his artistic interests,¹⁷ but still found life in Akaroa rather dreary at times:

il faut être doué d'une philosophie tout-à-fait particulière pour ne pas trop languir ici. Nous n'avons que la promenade ou la chasse pour toute distraction, et encore le temps n'est pas toujours beau; tant s'en faut.¹⁸

It was presumably on just such a walk or hunting trip that Foley visited, once or several times, the Wairewa and Waihora area where his *Eki* is set. The accurate and detailed description he gives in the text makes it clear that he went there and was either sufficiently impressed to retain clear memories for a long time afterwards or else recorded details in his diary.

To get from Akaroa to Wairewa there was a well-known track, presumably a traditional Maori track, although the French navy worked on the Akaroa end of it. People like Bishop Selwyn and Edward Shortland followed this path in 1844 when travelling overland between Akaroa and places further south. It went over the hill behind the French naval farm and then, overgrown at this point, down into the densely forested Wairewa valley, along the shore of Lake Wairewa to a little Maori village where Shortland found just two families (ten people) living, along Kaitorete Spit to the Maori village of Taumutu, and then south across the plains. Going on a tramp for a few days from Akaroa meant taking most of your provisions with you, although it was easy to shoot a pigeon in the bush.

de loin en loin on se rassemble trois ou quatre on prend des provisions de bouche et de chasse pour cinq six jours et l'on s'en va faire une excursion à quelques lieues au large.¹⁹

¹⁶ P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*. Christchurch: 1990, p.257.

¹⁷ Charles Meryon to his father, 8 March 1844 (British Museum: Add. mss. 37015).

¹⁸ Charles Meryon to his father, 8 March 1844 (British Museum: Add. mss. 37015).

¹⁹ Charles Meryon to his father, 23 Oct. 1844 (British Museum: Add. mss. 37015). "L'on donnait des permissions pour aller à la pêche et à la chasse" (Voyage de la corvette le *Rhin* aux îles du Pacifique

In 1845, there were 267 Europeans and 453 Maori people living on the peninsula. If the French sailors living on the *Rhin* are included, the number of Europeans is brought up to equal that of the Maori more or less exactly. Meryon was fascinated by the Maori and drew them, while those who were injured or ill were treated at no cost by the French naval doctors, and French priests tried to convert them. Charles Fabre, one of the doctors on the *Rhin*, learnt to speak Maori and was the godfather at the baptism of one of the leading young men of the area, Hoani Papita Akaroa, in 1846. Captain Bérard had at least some knowledge of the Maori language and the French officers who mapped the peninsula were careful to note Maori place-names. The Maori mostly chose to live their own lives in their own villages and just how much contact there was between the French and the Banks Peninsula Maori is hard to establish. Foley and his friend Meryon returned to France with good collections of South Pacific artefacts which are now held in Paris museums, the Musée de l'homme and the Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. It is noticeable, however, that these are nearly all from tropical islands, especially New Caledonia and Fiji, but a particularly beautiful Maori greenstone heitiki may have been acquired through bartering with Banks Peninsula Maori, which would indicate at least some degree of contact with them.²¹

Although they refused to be called servants, some Maori worked for Europeans in Akaroa or traded with them.²² The *Rhin* frequently exchanged blankets for vast quantities of potatoes grown by the Maori, with the normal rate of exchange being one blanket for 250 kg of potatoes²³, and some Maori were employed as crew on French whaling ships as well. When Frenchmen deserted from a whaling ship, they were sometimes caught and brought back to the *Rhin* by Maori people who could

as spending most of his life being bored and blaming this on his surroundings instead of his own shortcomings, so one should not read too much into this statement. (Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, p.118-9).

²¹ The Musée national des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie holds the heitiki from New Zealand, along with artefacts from Tonga, Fiji, Wallis, New Caledonia and Santa Cruz, all donated by his son, Charles, from Foley's personal collection between 1946 and 1948. The heitiki on the title-page of the 1874 edition of *Eki* is a mirror-image, but otherwise an exact copy, of Foley's one. Interestingly, there are a number of Fijian items in his collection even though the *Rhin* never went there. This is perhaps the result of the extensive contacts between Fiji and Tonga, and could explain Foley's exaggerated idea of the extent of Tongan power and influence in Polynesia. The Foley collection at the Musée de l'Homme does not have any Maori items.

²² CB Robinson to HI Perry, 1 July 1841 (Public Record Office: C.O. 209/13, 278).

²³ Casernets de bord de la corvette le *Rhin*, 29 March 1843, 10 April 1843, 5 and 10 July 1843, 22 Aug 1843, 27 Sept 1843, 1 and 2 April 1844, 17 June 1844, 6, 10 and 19 July 1844, 6 Aug 1844, 21 and 31 March 1846, 1 and 14 April 1846 (WTu: Micro MS 855, reel 5)

even manage to be paid for this work both by the deserter (whom they pretended to be helping) and the officers of the *Rhin*. On one occasion when a group of nine deserters from the *Duc d'Orléans* and the *Orion* were robbed, Bérard sent a letter to the chiefs at Port Levy asking for the stolen goods to be returned.

Deux jours après on les a rapportés. Sur 64 pièces il n'en manquait que 4 que les matelots regardaient comme sans valeur. La baleinière a été rendue au cap[itai]ne du *Duc d'Orléans* moyennant le sacrifice de quelques livres de tabac. J'ai fait un cadeau au chef qui a fait parvenir les effets à Akaroa.²⁴

Major chiefs were also given presents by Captain Bérard as part of the process of keeping them well-disposed towards the French, allowing the continued presence of French settlers and confirming the validity of landsale documents. An officer from the *Rhin* could be sent to negotiate with the Maori when a problem arose, as happened, for example, when some French sailors from a whaling ship were asked to pay for the water they were collecting in barrels from a stream.²⁵ Captain Bérard's predecessor at the French naval station at Akaroa, Captain Lavaud, also recorded information he heard from the Akaroa chief, Tuauau, about the recent Maori history of the area and the whakapapa of the leading chiefs.²⁶

These are examples of contacts between Maori and the French naval officers which have been recorded, but doubtless contacts took many other forms as well. We know that, when the *Rhin* was in Uvea, Meryon recorded quite a few Uvean words, along with their meanings. It seems likely, therefore, that something similar happened when the educated officers of the *Rhin* made contact with the Maori of Banks Peninsula.

The presence of a French naval ship and a British magistrate in Akaroa had a major advantage for the various Ngai Tahu sub-tribes living on Banks Peninsula: it protected them from the possibility of attack by their traditional enemies, Te Rauparaha to the north and their Ngai Tahu and Ngati Mamoe relations and rivals to the south. When the *Rhin* was absent from Akaroa, they felt anxious. In October 1843, just after the *Rhin* left Akaroa for a short trip to Sydney, Tikao wrote to the Governor, asking him to make sure that Te Rauparaha and his allies did not cross

²⁴ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 15 Apr 1845 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

²⁵ Robinson to Murphy, 30 April 1842 (WArc: IA 1 42/1284).

²⁶ Lavaud, *Akaroa*, 1986, pp.24-8.

Cook Strait to attack the Ngai Tahu people.²⁷ As late as June 1845, a war-party of a hundred Port Levy Maori, fearing a joint attack by Te Rauparaha from the north and by Taiaroa and Patuki from the south while the *Rhin* was away on another trip, arrived in Akaroa in a state of considerable alarm and asked Magistrate Robinson for protection. He was able to persuade them that their fears were not justified.²⁸

The Akaroa magistrate made annual population returns for Banks Peninsula in the 1840s and, thanks mainly to a detailed census of most of the peninsula conducted by Edward Shortland, we know how the Maori were distributed among the various Maori villages in early 1844:²⁹

- The populations of Onuku (32 inhabitants under chief Tuauau), Opukutahi (7 under Mautai), Ohae (33 under Tikao) and Wainui (17 under Akaroa) made a total of 89 Maori, mostly of Ngati Ruahikihiki hapu living on the shores of Akaroa Harbour;
- The populations of Wairewa (10 people under Te Ikawera of Ngati Kahukura) and Taumutu (20 people of Ngati Ruahikihiki and Ngai Tuahuriri under Tiakikai and Maopo) made another 30 Maori living on the southern side of the peninsula;
- The populations of Port Levy (157, mostly Ngai Tuahuriri from Kaiapoi under Iwikau); Port Cooper (48) and Pigeon Bay (9), made a total of 214 living in the northern bays.

In addition, some young Maori women lived with European men, particularly men from the whaling stations at Peraki, Ikolaki and Goashore. Captain Owen Stanley listed 17 Maori women as living at these whaling stations in 1840, but Magistrate Robinson listed only 6 in 1843 when the whaling industry was beginning to struggle. The Maori were interested in European goods, European religion (Catholic, Anglican or Wesleyan), European husbands, European skills (including language and writing), and some European jobs (eg, whaling and surveying). The influence was not all one way by any means, however: Europeans asked the Maori to build them whares as

²⁷ Tikao Ohirau, Middle Island, to Governor, 30 Oct. 1843, "requests governor to prevent Te Rauparaha and others from crossing Cook Strait to attack Ngaitahu" (National Archives, Wellington: MA 43/218). The original document is no longer extant but these details appear in the Register.

²⁸ Robinson to Superintendent, Wellington, 16 June 1845 (WArc: NM 8 45/286).

²⁹ Magistrate Robinson's population return for 1843 (WArc: IA 1 44/607); Edward Shortland. Table showing the Amount of Native Population, enclosure with his report of 18 March 1844 (*BPP NZ* 5 1846 (337) 153-9).

their first homes, asked them for potatoes and probably fish, and, of course, sought Maori wives and hired Maori workers, and asked them for information on local geography, flora and fauna.

In these circumstances, there is every reason to believe that, in the early 1840s, the Banks Peninsula Maori were very happy to sell land to Europeans, provided the price was right, although there were disputes with isolated squatters, like Hay and the Greenwood brothers, who would not acknowledge Maori ownership of the land. The Deans brothers had bought land at Riccarton from only one chief, Taiaroa, which resulted in people from Port Levy destroying their stockyard, but the Deans were happy to pay any Maori with rights to the land and, after a rebuke from Magistrate Robinson, the Port Levy Maori rebuilt the stockyard. The Sinclair family seem to have been model settlers, paying both the French and the Maori generously for the land they occupied in Pigeon Bay.

Jean Langlois, on behalf of the French Nanto-Bordelaise Company, handed over some goods to a large and representative group of Maori in August 1840 as payment for land. Over the next few years, the French worked hard to keep the Maori happy, both because the Maori were applying some pressure and also because Captain Bérard had a clear sense of justice and equity as well as concern for the safety of the French settlers. Iwikau drew up a list of what he wanted and, in October 1843, the *Rhin* left Akaroa for Sydney where Bérard bought goods, largely with his own money, for Belligny to hand over to the Maori on behalf of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company as further payment for land. When Bérard returned at the end of December 1843, he commented that the Maori, after previously being “très tracassiers” under the influence of events in the North Island (although he seems to be referring mostly to the Wairau affray), were now peaceful as they felt assured that they would receive payment for their land.³⁰

More Maori had come to live around Akaroa Harbour in the expectation that this payment would soon be forthcoming, but there was some delay as Bérard was waiting for the Governor to be present so that the transaction would have the highest possible sanction from the British authorities. The payment was finally made to the Maori, without any representative of the British colonial administration being

³⁰ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 28 Feb 1844 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

present, however, in March 1845. The goods handed over were estimated by the French to be worth 15,000 francs for the northern half of the peninsula and 23,000 francs for the southern half, although Belligny says that Bérard spent only 6000 francs in Sydney.³¹ After this, “the Natives, with the exception of one young man named Akaloa, seem well satisfied with the payment,” wrote Robinson. Akaroa’s opposition, according to Robinson, was based on biased advice he received from British settlers with conflicting land claims. Since he was baptised by a French priest the following year, it seems unlikely that his opposition was sustained, however. Captain Bérard was even more positive than Robinson about the contentment of the peninsula Maori after this further round of payments.³²

All the same, relations between Europeans and Maori on Banks Peninsula risked being affected by problems that occurred elsewhere in New Zealand. Between 1843 and 1846, the period when the *Rhin* was stationed at Akaroa, there were several major armed conflicts between the tangata whenua and European settlers elsewhere in the country; notably, on 17 June 1843, when twenty-two Europeans were killed at Wairau after insisting on surveying disputed land. This created considerable alarm among settlers throughout the country but more particularly in the Cook Strait area.

Puis sont arrivées des mésintelligences avec les naturels et enfin cette catastrophe de Wairau qui a mis la colonie à deux doigts de sa perte. Depuis ce moment il y a eu tant de tracasseries de la part des Maoris des environs du détroit qu’il a été presque impossible de cultiver la plupart des lots qui avaient été vendus. Les émigrants on[t] craint pour leur existence.³³

Presumably, it was largely through reading newspapers that Bérard became aware of “les troubles causés par les naturels à Teranaki, à Nicholson pour la vallée de la Hut, aux environs d’Auckland et à la Baie des Iles”.³⁴

Finding out about the Wairau affair after returning to Akaroa from a short trip to the North Island, Captain Bérard sent the *Nelson Examiner*’s account of what happened to his political masters in Paris. In his despatch of 14 August 1843 he wondered whether it would lead to unrest on Banks Peninsula, but there was not too much concern as this was the time when Land Commissioner Godfrey, assisted by Edward

³¹ Belligny to Joly, 28 February 1844 (Archives Decazes: 369/D19).

³² Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 1 Aug 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

³³ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 28 Feb 1844 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

³⁴ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 15 Apr 1845 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

Shortland, was in Akaroa examining land claims and listening to the submissions of the leading chiefs, who were receiving presents from the *Rhin* after their court appearances. All the same, Edward Shortland noticed that the Maori were getting impatient because the French had not completed their promised payments for land:

They were also very dissatisfied at not having rec[eive]d payment from the French, and at being told they must wait till the Gov[erno]r gave his consent. [...] This business must be speedily arranged or else the tranquillity of the place will be disturbed—already many have begun to throw out hints about Wairau—But the French corvette is certainly a check on them.³⁵

Just before Godfrey and Shortland arrived, the *Rhin* had been carrying out some firing practice with its cannons. Fifty cannon balls were fired on 9 August and thirty-six were recovered from on land the next day. Captain Bérard was making sure that the Maori were aware of the military might at his disposal.³⁶

When the *Rhin* called briefly into the Bay of Islands in January 1845, Bérard learnt from Bishop Pompallier of Hone Heke's first acts of defiance towards the British and he also read an account in an Auckland newspaper. Some Maori chiefs even asked Pompallier whether the *Rhin* would protect them from any attack by British soldiers. Bérard's 1845 and 1846 despatches chronicle Hone Heke's actions and the military actions taken, often unsuccessfully, against him. Bérard's view was that, after some twenty-five years of missionary activity, the Maori were only superficially adopting "civilised" ways, such as by respecting the sabbath and praying both regularly and fervently. Altruism and compassion, however, he sees as totally foreign to them:

Point de générosité, de reconnaissance, d'amour du prochain. Ils n'ont aucune pitié, et ils conservent encore tous les défauts de leur ancien caractère sauvage. Ils sont intéressés, avides, jaloux, envieux, dissimulés, vindicatifs, cruels, voleurs et menteurs par dessus tout.³⁷

They have no word in their language, he says, for gratitude or even for thank you. He seems to be blaming the outbreaks of warfare on the inability of the Maori to adopt European ways. He praises, in fact, "[le] courage et ... l'industrie des colons" in the face of native unrest, although he is also perfectly aware of the role of European land purchases, writing about "les difficultés qui se sont élevées pour les nouveaux achats

³⁵ Shortland, Journal, 10 Feb 1844 (Hocken Library, M 1 23).

³⁶ The presents to the chiefs and the military manoeuvres were recorded in the *Rhin*'s log.

³⁷ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 15 Apr 1845 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

de terrains, la guerre qui s'en est suivie".³⁸

The result of the civilised facade merely masking the savage temperament of the Maori is, according to Bérard's assessment, that "une étincelle pourrait encore allumer cette fureur sauvage et sanguinaire des premiers tem[p]s". At the same time, however, he admits that "il est certain qu'il y a moins de guerres qu'autrefois".³⁹ These comments are occasioned by the disturbances in Northland and it is not clear that he would make the same judgement about the Banks Peninsula Maori, although his bitterness seems heartfelt and so is the result, perhaps, of some personal experience. It was the news of the sacking of Kororareka, the oldest European settlement in the country, on 11 and 12 March 1845 that led Bérard to erect three blockhouses in Akaroa Harbour, one each in the German, French and English villages, and to supply them all with guns, pistols, swords and ammunition and these blockhouses were actually used on one occasion some three months later. However, this was not to defend the European settlers from the local Maori but to defend the local Maori from their Maori enemies. Bérard was mistaken when he wrote:

La colonie était fort tranquille, mais peu après notre départ, le 12 mai 1845, elle avait été un moment inquiétée par l'attitude menaçante qu'avaient prise tout à coup les naturels. On ne sait pourquoi ils étaient accourus en armes auprès de l'établissement. Tout le monde s'était retiré dans les blockaus, et la fermeté calme et résolue des colons avait peu à peu imposé aux Maoris, qui enfin prirent le parti de se retirer sans faire aucun mal. Depuis lors l'établissement avait joui de la paix la plus profonde, malgré les nouvelles désastreuses qui arrivaient du nord; c'est peut-être le seul point de la Nlle Zélande qui n'ait pas été sérieusement troublé.⁴⁰

In fact this shows a misunderstanding on Bérard's part and a lack of communication with Magistrate Robinson, for he is referring to the arrival of the armed party from Port Levy on 15 June 1845 seeking protection from what they considered to be an impending attack by Te Rauparaha, as referred to earlier. The settlers spent the night under arms in their blockhouses, but Maori and Europeans then accepted that it was a false alarm and went home the next day.

The *Rhin* had left Akaroa because Bérard felt that he should go up to Kororareka to ensure that Bishop Pompallier's mission there was safe. This visit to the Bay of

³⁸ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 1 Aug 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

³⁹ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 15 Apr 1845 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

⁴⁰ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

Islands, from 23 to 29 May 1845, allowed Foley to see the devastation that had been caused by Hone Heke's attack, which had resulted in almost the whole town being destroyed.

The various military engagements that occurred around the Bay of Islands at this time were described in detail in New Zealand newspapers and Bérard wrote extensively about them in his despatches and sent back to Paris one of the plans of the Ruapekapeka pa that were widely disseminated amongst the European settlers. One Bérard despatch, entitled "Troubles dans le district du nord de la Nlle Zélande; du 4 juillet 1844 au 31 janvier 1846", was published in the *Moniteur*.⁴¹ This was, of course, musket (and, to a limited extent, cannon) warfare. However, the descriptions of Maori fortifications, brilliant generalship, the creation of diversions, the skilled concealment of attackers approaching through the undergrowth, the complex rules of *utu* and honour (often involving women) that governed Maori warfare, the war dances, the besiegers' use of fire, and the post-war pillaging are among elements of the newspaper's and Bérard's narratives that Foley could have used for motives, tactics and fortifications in *Eki*.

Hone Héké avait réuni un assez grand nombre de naturels [...] dans le but de venir demander [...] satisfaction et une indemnité (*utu*) pour des insultes grossières qu'il avait reçues d'une femme maorie [...] Les Magistrats et les Protecteurs des aborigènes se réunirent pour calmer Hone Héké et lui faire accepter comme *utu* un baril de tabac, en lui laissant la liberté d'emmener cette femme. Les naturels qui s'étaient déjà animés par des danses guerrières ne voulurent pas entendre raison.⁴²

Hone Héké divisa ses tribus en trois corps et s'avança sur Kororaréka par trois points différents. Kawiti à la tête du premier marcha par la vallée de Matawi-bay; Hékiténé et Kabotai les deux plus grands chefs de Waikare passèrent par la vallée d'Oneroa; Hone Héké se dirigea sur la colline du mât de pavillon. Ils s'avancèrent tous en tirailleurs se cachant dans les broussailles et dans les divers plis du terrain. Ils se trouvaient à portée de fusil des points qu'ils se proposaient d'attaquer lorsqu'on les croyait encore à une grande distance. Un léger brouillard du matin avait favorisé cette manœuvre.⁴³

Ce pah était très-fort, deux rangs de palissades en bois dur et garnis de torres formaient l'enceinte extérieure; puis un fossé intérieur, avec des traverses

⁴¹ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011), inséré au *Moniteur* du 24 octobre 1846.

⁴² Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

⁴³ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

pour éviter l'enfilade, permettait aux naturels de tirer à l'abri, à travers les meurtrières de l'enceinte qui étaient au raz de terre.⁴⁴

Such narratives are sometimes not too far from the style and tone of Foley's prose.

Another possible source for his knowledge of Maori warfare would have been the many newspaper accounts of the military campaigns of Te Rauparaha, a historical figure who appears as a character (Téroupara) in *Eki*. In fact, Te Rauparaha was alive and well, living on the Kapiti coast near Wellington, when Foley was in New Zealand, although his warrior days were over. The *Rhin* visited Wellington only once, for a few days in May 1843, and there is no record of any meeting between the French officers and this feared warrior chief. Indeed, it would have been extremely unlikely, for the French were concerned with establishing good relations with leading European settlers and Government officials.

A biography of Te Rauparaha appeared in the *Wellington Independent* on 31 May 1845. Although, as it acknowledges, it is unsure about much of the detail, it explains Te Rauparaha's journey south from Kawhia in the 1820s to set up a new home at Kapiti Island and on the nearby coast. Some of the description of the journey calls to mind Foley's character, Akaroa le magnanime, who leads his tribe southwards: "Te Pahi and Te Rauparaha led their men down the coast, in some instances butchering all before them, in other cases using fraud and craftiness to pass by tribes of whose power and strength they entertained dread." The local tribe "could not resist the furious onslaught of the victorious and exasperated Ngatitoas's" [sic] and all its members were killed or became the slaves of their conquerors.

Although Foley retains the name "Téroupara", this character is the enemy of the hero figure in *Eki* and not the warrior hero himself. Akaroa le magnanime is escaping from the predations of Téroupara, just as Te Rauparaha was finding it untenable to continue living in Kawhia because of the pressure exerted upon his tribe by other tribes. Akaroa le magnanime takes over the leadership of his tribe from the dithering, compromising Iotété, just as Te Rauparaha, who was not of particularly noble birth but was an effective warrior and leader, similarly replaced Hapekituarangi. Foley's Akaroa slips unseen past Téroupara's canoes instead of engaging him in battle, and then goes on to conquer Ticao and install himself on Banks Peninsula, just as Te

⁴⁴ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

Rauparaha by-passes some tribes, conquers the “Ngatikuea” tribe, and settles on Kapiti.

After arriving at his new home, Te Rauparaha, according to this biography which Foley could easily have read, “began to plot schemes of conquest”. In this version of the capture of Tamaiharanui at Akaroa, “the common natives were instantly slaughtered by Rauparaha’s followers, but King George [Tamaiharanui] was reserved for a worse death.” Foley, too, distinguishes between the conduct in war of noble chiefs and the common people. The *Wellington Independent* biographer concludes that Te Rauparaha, although not particularly brave, “for craft, subtlety, and diplomacy ... is almost unrivalled” and continues to exert considerable influence. “Rauparaha when young must have been a very powerful man. In his prime he apparently stood about five feet seven inches high. His countenance wears rather a placid expression, but there is an appearance of determination about the mouth and craft around the eyes, which at once proclaim the man.” While Foley’s Akaroa le magnanime is cruel and a master tactician, he is also conspicuously brave. Foley gives sneaky craftiness to another, and lesser, character, Toma-Kéké.

Another source of information about Te Rauparaha could have been what Foley heard from Banks Peninsula Maori. Bérard’s predecessor at Akaroa, Captain Lavaud, wrote down the story of the wars between Te Rauparaha and the Banks Peninsula Maori as he heard them from the leading Akaroa chief, Tuauau. Tuauau describes Tangatahara’s killing of Te Pehi at Kaiapoi, Te Rauparaha’s voyage to Akaroa on the *Elizabeth* to avenge this death, the massacre of many Akaroa people and the capture and execution of their paramount chief Tamaiharanui, and Te Rauparaha’s subsequent victories at Kaiapoi, Port Cooper and Onawe. Te Rauparaha’s treatment of the captured Tamaiharanui is graphically described, suggesting that Lavaud also had pakeha sources for this part of the narrative: “Au retour de cette goélette à Capiti, le chef prisonnier fut d’abord pendu à un croc par la mâchoire, et eut ensuite la gorge coupée, Taraopaara but son sang, et le corps servit de festin aux vainqueurs.”⁴⁵ After the siege of Onawe, the survivors, including Tuauau, returned to the conquered pa site: “Nous le trouvâmes incendié et beaucoup des nôtres tués et coupés par morceaux. Nous rassemblâmes les ossements qui un mois après furent

⁴⁵ Lavaud, *Akaroa*, 1986, pp.24-6.

portés dans la baie où habitent les Français. Cette place fut tabouée jusqu'à votre arrivée." The signs of battle were presumably still visible to the French settlers and, along with Maori fear of another Te Rauparaha attack, would have placed the northern warrior chief in the forefront of many settlers' minds. Foley must have been aware of this.

For a knowledge of Maori weaponry (and clothing, canoes and housing), Foley would have had plenty of occasions to see, both on informal and formal occasions, the Banks Peninsula Maori people. This is shown by the fact that a good description of Maori weapons and dress in Akaroa was written just a few years after Foley was there by Captain Stokes of HMS *Acheron* who describes the Maori who came to Akaroa in 1849 to receive payment from the Government for their land:

We were all day surrounded by them; many, belonging to distant tribes, sported handsome mats, ornamented with broad and elegant borders of red and black. Some of the chiefs wore mantles of spotted dogskin, arranged like the Roman toga [...] open on the right side to allow the full sweep of weapons.

Those who came around had tomahawks and a kind of spear or baton made up of very dark brown wood, having the head or tongue most elaborately carved and decorated with eyes of some glittering shell, and a wide tassled fringe of hair and crimson feathers from the kaka's wing. One or two showed that distinguished symbol of chieftainship, the greenstone mere, or club of transparent talc, about 18 in. in length and 4 in. or 5 in. in breadth, with rounded point and sharp bevelled edge. [...]

A savage looking fellow in dogskin cloak who carried a mere was jocularly tempted to resign his sceptre in exchange for ten sovereigns, but he refused them.⁴⁶

The European settlers, themselves, often lived with very limited or no contact with the Maori, however. One has only to think of the story of Mme Marie Célestine Véron, who told her women friends that, back in the 1840s in Tikao Bay, she had thought that a Maori man was going to eat her. She was "remarkably plump and Mrs Bayley thinks her rounded limbs had revived the old Maori's cannibal instincts".⁴⁷ However, the writing of *Eki* and the names given to the various characters show that Foley was aware of the individual Maori in the area.

⁴⁶ Undated newspaper cutting, Canterbury Public Library, Early Settlers' Scrapbook, pp.78-9.

⁴⁷ *Akaroa Mail*, 16 April 1901.

Ngai Tahu no longer had a Paramount Chief in the 1840s, and Tuhawaiki in Foveaux Strait, Taiaroa in Otago and Iwikau on Banks Peninsula were leading contenders for influence within the tribe. Iwikau had considerable mana as his mother, Te Whe, was the older sister of Paramount Chief Te Wakatitiro and the aunt of the last great Paramount Chief Tamaiharanui, who had regarded Iwikau as his son.⁴⁸ Iwikau was born in Kaiapoi but, with the destruction of Kaiapoi in the early 1830s and the advent of European whaling on Banks Peninsula, the conversion to Christianity of their tribal enemies to the north and the consequent release of many Ngai Tahu slaves, Iwikau had become the main chief at Puari in Port Levy where many of the ex-Kaiapoi people lived in the 1840s. This was by far the biggest Maori settlement on the peninsula. Iwikau had been a Ngai Tahu leader in the wars against Te Rauparaha and was remembered for coming to the aid of his uncle, Te Hikoia, and defeating Te Kaurapa and taking his weapon as a trophy.⁴⁹ Iwikau had also taken a prominent part in the French attempts to purchase land and a son of his, Hori Kingi (King George), was baptised by a French Catholic priest, Father Comte, in August 1844. Iwikau died soon after this, at some time before March 1845,⁵⁰ but, for much of the time when the *Rhin* was stationed at Akaroa, he was the most important chief on Banks Peninsula.

Tuauau, the leading chief at Onuku, the Maori village closest to the French settlers, does not appear by name in *Eki*, but Tikao, Akaroa and Tamakeke, important chiefs at other small villages around Akaroa Harbour in the 1840s, along with Iwikau and Maopo, who lived somewhat further away, do figure as characters in Foley's book. Although not as well born as Iwikau, Tikao had considerable influence as a result of his intelligence, his excellent command of English and his aggressive personality. European officials frequently refer to him as insolent, audacious, troublesome, self-important or meddlesome.⁵¹ Tikao was the main chief at Ohae, a village of some 33 inhabitants in 1844, near what is now known as Tikao Bay and on 30 May 1840 it was Tikao (under his whaling name of John Love) and Iwikau who signed the Treaty of Waitangi as the leading Banks Peninsula chiefs when the treaty was brought to Akaroa. Tikao, like Iwikau, was a Kaiapoi man, but he had Banks Peninsula

⁴⁸ Lavaud, *Akaroa*, 1986, p.28.

⁴⁹ Stack, *Sacking of Kaiapohia*, pp.241-2.

⁵⁰ CB Robinson report, 23 and 30 April 1845 (National Archives: NM 8 45/183, filed with 1849/870); Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 4 April 1845 (AN: Marine BB⁴ 1011).

⁵¹ CB Robinson report, 10 May 1843 (National Archives: IA 1 1843/1425); Shortland, *Southern Districts*, p.243; Mantell to Colonial Secretary, 30 January 1849 (in Mackay, *Compendium*, I, 216-7, 219).

connections, notably through his wife. Known as Piuraki as well as Hoani Tikao, he was described by his famous nephew, Hone Tare Tikao, as being six feet four inches tall, very strong and tattooed on one side of his face only.⁵² Sketches and etchings by the French artists Charles Meryon and Auguste Delâtre (working from Meryon's sketches) purport to be portraits of Tikao, but the identification is not entirely certain. There is also a family tradition that Tikao went to France and studied there, but this seems unlikely as one would expect some sort of comment about this from the French naval officers who came into contact with him in Akaroa. Tikao signed the French land purchase deeds in 1840, and the Akaroa Catholic registers show that in 1847 Father Comte married a Tikao and Monika Wakapeke. Later entries in the St Peter's Anglican registers might also refer to him. Tikao continued to be seen as a leading chief into the early 1850s and, when he died in 1852, his younger brother Tamati then took over the Tikao name.⁵³

The three main male protagonists in Eki's story are all called Akaroa and they are three generations of the same family. This was the name of a young chief who headed the Ngati Ruahikihiki settlement at Wainui on the western side of Akaroa Harbour during the three years when Foley was stationed in Akaroa. Shortland listed seventeen people as living in Wainui under Akaroa's leadership in 1844, and many of them seem to have some connection to the well-known chief Tangatahara, who was still alive in the early 1840s but spending most of his time further south, particularly at Moeraki. Three of Tangatahara's wives are listed, four of his children, and one grandchild. Akaroa eventually married Tangatahara's daughter, Mikarakara.⁵⁴

Akaroa was listed by Captain Lavaud as one of the four leading chiefs of Banks Peninsula in the early 1840s, along with Iwikau, Tikao and Tuauau,⁵⁵ and he signed two of the three French land deeds in 1840. Edward Shortland found him very helpful in 1844 when he was able to give him his heavy luggage to convey by sea

⁵² *Akaroa Mail*, 1 January 1918.

⁵³ *Lyttelton Times*, 12 June 1852.

⁵⁴ Shortland, Journal (Hocken Library, ms 23), reproduced as appendix II in P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, pp.315-7. When baptised as Pirihihi Waitohu on 15 March 1846, she is listed as the husband of Hoani Papita Akaroa (Catholic register of baptisms, marriages and deaths, Akaroa).

⁵⁵ Lavaud talks of "les principaux chefs d'Akaroa, et même de la Péninsule de Banks, Iwikau, John-Law, Towawao, Akaloa etc" (Lavaud, May 1844, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Nouvelle-Zélande, 1772-1851, Mémoires et documents: Océanie, vols. 13-16.).

from Waiteruati to Akaroa while he proceeded, himself, on foot.⁵⁶ As mentioned earlier, however, Akaroa—and two other men from his village—stood out from everyone else in not being satisfied by the further payments that the French made in 1845 for the land they were acquiring. Magistrate Robinson saw this stand as being the result of Akaroa's indebtedness to George Rhodes, who was running a store and a cattle farm in the area.⁵⁷ Either he needed more money to pay back his debts or else he was backing Rhodes's land claims against those of the French. His dissatisfaction was short-lived, moreover, since he was baptised by a Frenchman, Bishop Pompallier, in March 1846, when he was described as being 23 years old and the son of Witimatikore and Mokihi. He adopted two of François Jean-Baptiste Pompallier's first names, becoming Hoani Papita Akaroa, and his godfather was Charles Fabre, a surgeon on the *Rhin*. Akaroa's wife was baptised a week later as Pirihihi (Bridget) Waitohu. She was described as aged 19, the daughter of Tangatahara and [Maria] Te Hiakai.⁵⁸

Akaroa may have been a promising young chief when Foley knew him, but he had died by 1850, when his widow married 19-year-old Tihoka. Along with the responsibility of looking after Akaroa's widow, Tihoka assumed the name Akaroa, and was even baptised, by Father Séon, with the same first names as Pirihihi's first husband. This new Hoani Papita Akaroa, a leader of Ngai Tarawa and Ngati Irakehu, born in Wairewa and the son of Te Aokoro and Tanuku,⁵⁹ is not the one that Foley knew. However, he illustrates the handing on of the name Akaroa that is seen in Foley's text.

Among the small group of important chiefs who were given presents by Bérard in 1845 as part of the ongoing process of purchasing land was a certain "Mopu": "Donné au chef mahouri Mopu une couverture de laine blanche."⁶⁰ In Foley's text,

⁵⁶ Shortland, *Southern Districts*, 1851, p.233: "I now transferred my heavy baggage to the charge of a young chief, Hakaroa, who was shortly to sail with a freight of potted birds [from Waiteruati] for the place from which he derived his name."

⁵⁷ CB Robinson reports, 23 and 30 April 1845 (National Archives: NM 8 45/183, filed with 1849/870).

⁵⁸ *Registre des actes de baptême, de mariage et de sépulture de la Mission de l'Océanie occidentale établie à Akaroa (Nouvelle-Zélande). 1840-1844, [1846]: 8 and 15 March 1846* (Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archives).

⁵⁹ Station of the Assumption at Akaroa, New Zealand. Register of baptisms, marriages and interments, abjurations and conditional baptisms, commencing May 1st 1850: 24 June 1850 (Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archives).

⁶⁰ *Casernets de bord de la corvette le Rhin*, 26 February 1845 (WTu: Micro MS 855, reel 5).

Eki's father will be called Mopou. "Mopou était un hardi chasseur! Eki est sa fille." The accepted spelling of the historical chief's name is, in fact, Maopo and he belonged to Ngai te Ruahikihiki hapu. In the 1840s he was one of the leading men, along with Taiaroa and Tiakirikiri, at Taumutu and Wairewa. "Maopo's house, courtyard, and gardens were distinguished by great cleanliness and neatness, and that he conducted himself extremely well," wrote Mantell in 1849.⁶¹ Maopo still had two wives, Wera and Ngarara, in the late 1850s, a sign that he had not accepted Christianity, but his children were baptised. In the 1857 census his age was estimated as being 69, but Europeans tended to overestimate Maori ages, and Maopo was still alive and an active leader in 1866. This man, who had at least one recorded contact with the officers of the *Rhin*, gave at least his name, if nothing more, to a character in Foley's book. He also lived in a village near Lake Waihora where *Eki* is set, and belonged to the same southern Banks Peninsula hapu as Hoani Papita Akaroa. One can only surmise that Foley may have met him at Akaroa or when he was out hunting in Wairewa with fellow officers from the *Rhin*.

The final character in *Eki* to have clearly received his name from the people that Foley met while the *Rhin* was stationed at Akaroa was the sneaky coward, Toma-Kéké. There are two portraits of Toma-Kéké, with this same spelling of the name: a sketch and an etching by Auguste Delâtre from a lost sketch by Foley's friend, Meryon.⁶² The usual spelling of the man's name is Tamakeke and, like Tuauau and Akaroa, he was one of the few people to escape from Onawe when it was attacked by Te Rauparaha in the early 1830s.⁶³ In the 1840s he lived, under Akaroa's leadership, at Wainui. Shortland's 1844 census indicates that he was then a widower with one son, Te Paro, and the same census lists his mother, Kahukaka, as living in Onuku.⁶⁴ Later Tamakeke and his family are to be found living over the hills in Wairewa, and they may always have moved between Wairewa and Wainui, depending on seasonal activities and occupational opportunities.

Despite Foley's hostile portrayal, Tamakeke was, in fact, something of a francophile who signed all three French land purchase deeds in 1840 and who was baptised and confirmed into the Catholic Church by Bishop Pompallier in March 1846, taking the

⁶¹ Mantell to Colonial Secretary, 30 January 1849 (Mackay, *Compendium*, I, 217).

⁶² See Collins, "Auguste Delâtre, interprète de Charles Meryon", *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1983, 173-4.

⁶³ Lavaud, *Akaroa*, 1986, p.26.

⁶⁴ See P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, appendix II.

name Werahiko (Franciscus / François, so that, between them, he and Hoani Papita Akaroa had all of Pompallier's own first names). That same month, Pompallier married him to Maria Te Hiakai, who had formerly been the wife of Tangatahara.⁶⁵ The church register estimates Tamakeke's age as 48 in 1846. When Mantell went to Akaroa in 1849 to complete the purchase of Banks Peninsula for the Crown (or the Canterbury Association—the two became confused), he met with stern opposition from Tamakeke, as entries in Mantell's diary indicate:

Went out at Apera's request to his Kaika to hear what Tamakeke had to say as he wanted to return to Wairewa on Monday. A long speech 2 hours mostly in abuse of my award of £300, praising the French & abusing the English.⁶⁶

Abel then spoke & next Tamakeke who again said that unless the sum demanded were given he would keep his land & so forth. After he had done I asked if anyone else had anything to say. Replied that they all agreed with Tamakeke.⁶⁷

On his return to Wellington, Mantell reported that Carrington surveyed the boundary of the French block, and that negotiations for the purchase of the rest of the Akaroa block were discontinued, after opposition from John Tikao, John Tapu and Tamakeke. They were encouraged in this opposition by some French settlers and were hopeful of a big French payment, while being fearful of incurring the wrath of the French government.⁶⁸ Tamakeke and Te Hiakai had a son baptised into the Catholic Church in 1854 but, by 1856, Tamakeke had died.

The names of a number of characters in *Eki* are, then, an indication that Foley took an interest in individual Maori people on Banks Peninsula, along with their old enemy from Kapiti, Te Rauparaha. The origin of other names—Ea, Taia and, of course, Eki—is not so obvious, largely, perhaps, because they are names that cannot easily be identified because of their shortness, although it must be remembered that the Maori, themselves, often shortened names to their first or last syllable(s). Possible identifications can be made, but they are far from certain. The names show, at least, that Foley knew enough about Polynesian languages to invent credible

⁶⁵ Registre des actes de baptême, de mariage et de sépulture de la Mission de l'Océanie occidentale établie à Akaroa (Nouvelle-Zélande). 1840-1844, [1846]: 26 March 1846 (Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archives). The precise date of Tangatahara's death is uncertain. A monument at Wairewa marae gives it as 13 December 1847, but the last written evidence we have about him dates from November 1842 when he arrived in Akaroa as Tuhawaiki's envoy (Lavaud, *Akaroa*, 1986, p.67).

⁶⁶ Mantell diary (WTu: MS 1537), 25 August 1849.

⁶⁷ Mantell diary (WTu: MS 1537), 30 August 1849.

⁶⁸ Mantell to the Colonial Secretary, 27 November 1849 (Mackay, *Compendium*, II, 255).

names (there was a Ngai Tahu woman called Taia in the 1840s but she lived in Southland⁶⁹; and, of course, there was an important chief named Taia-roa), but they are probably all recollected names from Foley's South Pacific past, although with the slightly idiosyncratic spellings typical of the period.

One of the names Foley uses, Iotété, comes not from Banks Peninsula, in fact, but from the Marquesas Islands which he visited, briefly, on the *Rhin*. Iotete was a chief of the Hema tribe, living at Vaitahu (Resolution Bay) on Tahuata island.

À Tahuata [...] un chef nommé Iotété, après avoir abattu et chassé un de ses frères dont la puissance lui portait ombrage, s'était rendu si redoutable, que tous les autres chefs de l'île avaient subi son ascendant, l'avaient reconnu roi, et vivaient en paix sous sa domination.⁷⁰

The *Rhin* called at Vaitahu on 10-11 December 1844. This was two and a half years after the event which made Iotete so important in the French history of the Pacific: he was the chief who signed a treaty with Dupetit-Thouars in May 1842, ceding Tahuata to the French and beginning the process which would give France sovereignty over French Polynesia. By the time that the *Rhin* called at Vaitahu, Iotete had just died, so Foley never met him in person, but, just as Te Rauparaha was remembered by everyone in Akaroa, Iotete was a very recent memory for everyone at the new French military base at Vaitahu.

Like the man in Foley's story, the historical Iotete was an old man who showed a fatal willingness to compromise with his enemies (in his case, the French). Realising that his treaty with the French had not enhanced his power in the way his earlier trading with Europeans had done, Iotete withdrew into the island's hinterland to keep his mana intact and his nephew, Maheono, became chief at Vaitahu in his place, with the backing of the French.⁷¹ Interestingly, Iotete had a daughter called Tahéia, so this could also be the origin of the name of Iotété's wife, Taia, in Foley's text. Tahéia seems to have been striking to look at, but sickly, dying in her sixteenth year.⁷² Because the Marquesan language is quite close to New Zealand Maori, Foley may have felt justified in using a name from there when he ran out of suitable ones from

⁶⁹ Kaumatua number 1193 is Maraea Taia (Ngaitahu Maori Trust Board. *Original Beneficiaries as Listed in Maori Land Court Order dated 12th March, 1925*).

⁷⁰ Radiguet. *Les derniers sauvages : la vie et les mœurs aux Iles Marquises (1842-1859)*, 1929, p.5.

⁷¹ Thomas, *Marquesan Societies*, 1990, pp.144-61.

⁷² Radiguet. *Les derniers sauvages : la vie et les mœurs aux Iles Marquises (1842-1859)*, 1929, p.15.

Akaroa, and the character who is given the name of Iotete can be seen as resembling in personality and role the historical character from whom he derives his name.

Looking back later to the time he was in the South Pacific, Foley wrote: “Quand j’ai vu l’Océanie, je n’étais pas à même de la bien comprendre. Quand je l’ai comprise, je n’étais plus à même de la voir.”⁷³ To explain what he meant by these words, we must now look, firstly, at his life before he embarked on the *Rhin* and, secondly, at his life after leaving the navy, when he reoriented his career and his thinking in quite new directions.

The Foley past

The opening pages of *Eki* recount the story of three generations of the family of “le docteur Antoine” who, with fellow Frenchman Édouard, is walking about Banks Peninsula in 184..., which points to the period 1843-1846 when Foley himself was in Akaroa. Foley’s first name was Antoine, but he was known to his family and friends by his second name, Édouard. Here he is clearly using his own names, Antoine and Édouard, to depict himself at two different ages. Édouard is his younger self, discovering the world by going to the South Pacific, and Antoine is the older self, the man who has become a doctor before telling his story. He is given the same sort of age in the 1840s as Foley had at the time when he was publishing *Eki*.

Is the story of Antoine’s ancestry an accurate portrayal of Foley’s own family history? In its general lines and in many of the details, it is indeed faithful to what we know of the Foley family. Other details might also prove to be correct if we knew more about a quite complex family history. However, Foley does simplify, reducing the number of generations, and attributing actions to one relation which actually belong to another. He is as free with individual contributions to European history as he is with individuals within a broadly true Maori history.

In the text of *Eki*, Antoine’s grandfather is said to have come from Waterford in Ireland to the court of the exiled Stuarts in France. There he fought with the grade of *cornette* for one of the Irish regiments, the Fitzjames, at the battle of Fontenoy, where he was wounded. As a result of his fighting in this battle, he was promoted to lieutenant and ennobled, and was given a pension to live at “l’hôtel des héros” (10),

⁷³ *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1876, II, 1.

where, despite his wounds and his gout, he continued to dream of fighting. When he died a few years later, he left a widow and a young son.

The records of the Fitzjames Regiment in the Service historique de l'Armée de Terre at Vincennes reveal that there was a man by the name of Foley who fits this description exactly. Edmond Foley, "taille de 5 pieds 6 pouces portant cheveux châtains", was born in Waterford county, Ireland, perhaps around 1695. He joined the Nugent cavalry regiment on 10 February 1720 as a volunteer, eventually obtaining promotion to maréchal des logis. When it acquired a new colonel on 16 March 1733, the regiment changed its name from Nugent to Fitzjames, and on 1 August 1743 Edmond Foley was promoted to the rank of cornette. He was wounded at Fontenoy in 1745 and was promoted to lieutenant on 19 March 1748. Because of his wounds and his gout, he was admitted to the Hôtel des Invalides on 4 October 1753 and died there on 24 January 1755.⁷⁴ This admission to the Invalides indicates that Edmond Foley was being treated both as a hero and as a noble.

Edmond remained a common name in subsequent generations of this Irish family that had settled permanently in France. Antoine-Édouard's eldest brother was called Edmond Louis Foley (1817-c.1858), their father was called Thomas Edmond Foley (1786-1867), his grandfather was Laurent Edmond Foley (1754-1816) and his great-grandfather was Edmond Foley (c.1720-1772). This Edmond must have been the son of the Lieutenant Edmond Foley who had come from Ireland and fought at Fontenoy, although historical confirmation of this has not been found. The date of his birth would indicate, however, that the story in *Eki* that the Lieutenant had to wait until after he was wounded at Fontenoy before he could persuade the woman he loved to marry him is not historically correct. The marriage must have taken place, in fact, at about the same time as he joined the Irish Regiment in France. *Eki* has also dispensed with two whole generations to make the story simpler and create parallels with the story of three generations of Banks Peninsula Maori people. The story of Lieutenant Edmond Foley, while revealing the Irish origins of the Foley family and adding a sense of verisimilitude to the work, is there to show the prevalence of war in Europe,

⁷⁴ Service historique de l'Armée de terre, Vincennes: 3YC 198 [Registre pour servir à l'enregistrement des noms des cavaliers qui composent le régiment de Nugent.] 1728; 3YC 199. Registre des [cavaliers] du régiment de Nugent 1730; Yb 132 Services des cornettes de Cav[alerie] et de Dragons. 1740; Yb 131 [Service des lieutenants de Cavalerie et de Dragons]; Yb 103 Contrôle: cavalerie et dragons, 1734-1748; Yb 836 Registre cavalerie et dragons 1734-1744; Yi 48 Registre des invalides.

as well as among the New Zealand Maori, and point out a longstanding militaristic attitude among both peoples.

The story of the second generation is told very briefly in *Eki*. Thanks to good family connections, Antoine's father became a diplomat and was secretary at the French Embassy in Madrid. He returned to Paris with his young Spanish bride when he heard that his mother was dying. This was in 1789 and, after his mother's death, he joined the Revolution, both working for Danton and dying with him. His widow then returned to Madrid with the little Antoine, who, in turn, lost his mother when he was eight or nine years old.

Interestingly, this is not, in fact, the story of one of the Foley ancestors who, after the feisty Irish lieutenant, were all, and to Foley's dismay, boring jewellers or merchants in the cloth trade who were totally immersed in the task of making money. It is inspired, instead, by Foley's wife's grandfather, Marc-Antoine Jullien, known as Jullien de Paris (1775-1848). Thanks to his father's political connections, the very youthful Jullien was sent abroad as a trainee diplomat in 1792, when he was only 17. He was, however, sent to London, not Madrid, and ally Spain is substituted for enemy England in *Eki*. Returning to Paris later that year, Jullien was given a job in the Pyrénées Occidentales, near the Spanish border, and in 1793 and 1794 he was sent by the Committee of Public Safety on special and important political missions to the Vendée and Bordeaux, where he seems to have been effective and ruthless. He appears to have been particularly close to Robespierre, rather than Danton, however, and a number of letters from Jullien to Robespierre are extant.⁷⁵ The substitution of Danton's name in *Eki* results from the Positivist view that Danton incarnated the practical republican ideals in the Revolution, whereas Robespierre was identified with the Terror and extremism. When Robespierre was arrested and executed, Jullien was denounced, arrested and imprisoned as well, but his father managed to get him released, so the glorious death alongside Danton, as described in *Eki*, is a little premature. Jullien would not die until the time of the 1848 Revolution, by which time he was an old man and had lived many more political and other adventures. The inclusion of this second-generation story in *Eki* shows the continuing violence of European society and a failed attempt to reform that society.

⁷⁵ Palmer, *From Jacobin to Liberal. Marc-Antoine Jullien, 1775-1848*, 1993. See also Helmut Goetz, *Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris (1775-1848). L'Évolution spirituelle d'un révolutionnaire*, 1962.

Antoine's own life is described in *Eki* at length. He spends much of his childhood in Spain and, when his mother dies, he is brought up by Dominicans. He finds, however, that he does not have a religious vocation and returns to France as a young man with the French army that is retreating from Spain at the end of the Peninsular War. In Paris he becomes the assistant to a doctor and eventually becomes a doctor himself, marrying the older doctor's daughter. The couple live in the country and find the people around them difficult to get on with, taking solace in their own company after initial problems adjusting to each other. His father-in-law dies from a "fléau", presumably cholera, and his mother-in-law and wife follow soon after. In a moment of revelation, Antoine comes to the realisation that he must stop just thinking about himself and, instead, devote himself to the good of others.

En parcourant la terre; en étudiant notre espèce, dans tous ses climats, dans toutes ses formes et dans tous ses âges sociaux, afin d'être à même de la délivrer enfin de nos deux grands fléaux modernes le révolutionarisme et le choléra; je vis donc aussi utile et aussi heureux ... que je peux l'être! (15)

This, of course, with a little transposition of detail, represents Foley's own life: a good education, a period in the armed forces, a return to France after a defeat, albeit political rather than military, at the hands of the British, training as a medical doctor, an initially rather difficult marriage, and the discovery of Positivism which changed his life.

Antoine Édouard Foley was born on 30 March 1820 to Thomas Edmond Foley, "marchand bijoutier" aged 34, and Anne Marguerite Virginie Charpentier, his wife aged 22, living at 24 rue Jean Robert, a street in the north of Paris which today is uncomfortably close to the railway lines emerging from the Gare du Nord. (The street now stops at number 20, and Foley's old house no longer exists.) He was not orphaned as a child, but we know that, at least as an adult, Foley felt emotionally distanced from his parents, even though he felt duty-bound to help them. His mother told Comte that "mon fils ne croit pas à l'affection qu'il nous inspire",⁷⁶ and he was appalled by his father's commercial attitude to life.⁷⁷ Two of his father's brothers were also jewellers in Paris. His mother's father signed documents as a property-owner ('propriétaire'), suggesting that he was one of the elite who were eligible to

⁷⁶ Letter from Auguste Comte to Foley, 6 July 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 513).

⁷⁷ Letter from Foley to Comte, 25 September 1855 (ms, Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

vote. In 1855, when Comte was looking for funds for the Positivist cause, Foley, who was still single, thought about his financial obligations to his family and indicated that the only relation that he felt at all inclined to give money to was Antoine Félix Bourdoux, the husband of one of his younger sisters.⁷⁸

Foley seems to have had a conventional Catholic upbringing. Around 1825 or 1826 the family shifted to a new Paris address, 69 rue du Temple, and in 1831, at the age of 11, he was the godfather at the baptism of his youngest sister, Elisabeth Jeanne, at the nearby Saint Nicolas-des-Champs church.

He received his tertiary education (1839-1841) at the École Polytechnique, which trained young men to be civil and military engineers and artillery officers. It gave its students the best available education in science and scientific method. In the very demanding entrance examinations, he was 89th out of the 135 students accepted. He was 73rd out of 131 students, going into his final year and, at the end of his studies, he was 82nd out of 87 graduating students. The top students chose careers in mining or civil engineering, whilst further down the list, graduates chose the navy, naval construction, military engineering, the State Tobacco Department, naval survey, military administration, and, last of all, the army or the navy artillery. Foley was well down the list but was still able to describe himself proudly for the rest of his life as an “ancien élève de l'École Polytechnique”, which gave him considerable standing. His best subject was ‘machine et géodésie’, and his other subjects were ‘analyse et mécanique’, chemistry, physics, and ‘travaux graphiques’. “Conduite un peu légère; tenue négligée,” says his final report, which also gives a detailed physical description of the young man. The problem, however, with his lowly place on the list of graduates was that he was not granted his first choice of career.

On graduation he was admitted as a trainee artillery officer into the army. He was, for a few short months, an ‘élève sous-lieutenant’ at the Metz artillery school, which was exactly the sort of career he had been trained for at the École Polytechnique. However, he seems to have had a desire to join the navy and managed to get transferred, as a result of letters from some very influential people. The people who backed him included Admiral Roussin (1771-1854), who was Secretary of the Chambre des Pairs and a member of the Academy of Sciences, a former Minister of

⁷⁸ Letter from Foley to Comte, 10 October 1855 (ms, Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

the Navy and French Ambassador in Constantinople. “La vocation du jeune Folley pour la marine est si vivement manifeste que je la crois véritable; il serait donc fâcheux pour lui et dommageable pour le service de ne pas la satisfaire. Je désire que cette considération détermine Monsieur le Ministre de la Guerre à accueillir la Pétition.”⁷⁹ The recipient of the letter, Marshal Soult, Minister of War and President of the Council of Ministers, a Saint-Simonian and freemason, was sympathetic but insisted that correct procedure should be followed.



A Polytechnician in the early nineteenth century

Another former Minister of the Navy, Baron Tupinier (1779-1850) wrote a separate supporting letter, again talking of Foley’s sense of vocation, “le plus vif désir d’entrer dans la marine royale”. “Je n’ai pas hésité à accorder à ce jeune homme près de vous l’appui qu’il a réclamé.” Foley would be “une bonne acquisition pour la marine”.⁸⁰ Tupinier was, like Foley, a graduate of the École Polytechnique. A naval engineer, he had become Directeur des Ports et Arsenaux, a Conseiller d’État and a

⁷⁹ Endorsement by Admiral Roussin, 25 Oct 1841, on a letter from Foley to Maréchal Soult, duc de Dalmatie, Minister of War (Foley’s naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

⁸⁰ Tupinier to Soult, 23 Nov 1841 (Foley’s naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098). Foley writes that Admiral Cuvillier also wrote a letter in his favour, but there is no letter from him in Foley’s personal dossier.

pair de France, and had two short terms as Acting Minister of the Navy in the 1830s. A third letter of support came from Jacques Lefebvre (1773-1856), long-serving député for the second arrondissement in Paris, régent of the Banque de France and a member of the Conseil général du commerce. The letter requested that Monsieur Florian, a senior official in the Navy Ministry, find time to see Foley's father who wished to put his son's case: "il s'agit d'une vocation qui ne s'est jamais démentie".⁸¹ Foley senior wrote a letter, himself, requesting an interview.

Little is known about the personal contacts at this time of Foley or his father. As a jeweller, Thomas Edmond Foley seems unlikely to have been moving among the leading political and commercial figures of the time, however, and Foley, himself, is more likely to have made good contacts among his fellow pupils at the École Polytechnique. Indeed, his fellow students also had eminent referees to support their cases.⁸² However, it is clearly the good impression that the young Foley made on many people and the considerable energy he expended on pursuing his case that were crucial in his success in getting transferred from the artillery to the navy. There were only four places in the navy for graduates of the École Polytechnique and, when told that a fellow graduate had withdrawn but that four others higher on the list had precedence over him, Foley contacted the others: "Je suis allé au ministère de la guerre pour connaître les noms des élèves qui placés avant moi sur la liste de sortie avaient demandé la marine." All but one of them withdrew: "Messieurs Coatpont, Michel et Denecey m'ont donné leur désistement". Foley argued that Baudry, the man who did not withdraw, was only one place above him on the list of graduates and so should fill the vacant fourth place in the navy, but no injustice would be done if he, the very next person on the graduate list, were granted a fifth place among the trainee naval officers, in accordance with the recommendations of his illustrious referees. In fact, Baudry eventually withdrew as well, so Foley became the fourth trainee naval officer from among the École Polytechnique graduates, in full accordance with the regulations and no special favour was granted.⁸³ Foley presented

⁸¹ JS Lefebvre to Florian, 20 Jan 1842 (Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

⁸² Admiral de Rosamel, who had been Minister of the Navy from 1836 until 1839, wrote in support of de Gouy, who was two places above Foley on the graduation list, pointing out that de Gouy's father was a colonel in the army. This letter is in Foley's personal dossier.

⁸³ Léon de Brou to de Gouy, 12 Dec. 1841; the Minister of War to the Minister of the Navy, 13 Jan 1842; an undated letter from Foley to an official in the War Ministry; an unsigned note indicating Baudry's withdrawal (Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

himself as having always wanted to become a naval officer.

Depuis ma plus tendre enfance, mon vœu est d'appartenir à la marine. Ayant manqué, pour une cause indépendante de ma volonté, mon admission à l'école navale, c'est pour arriver à la marine que j'ai pris le laborieux détour de l'école polytechnique.⁸⁴

He showed considerable determination in finally achieving this goal and on 20 February 1842, Foley became an “élève de la marine de première classe”. He embarked on the frigate *Minerve* on 15 April but was transferred to the *Rhin* on 10 June and his long voyage to the South Pacific was soon underway.



Foley as a young man, by Dusautoy

Life after Akaroa

Foley began his service on the *Rhin* on 10 June 1842 as an élève. By the time he returned from New Zealand to Toulon and left the ship on 1 September 1846 after 50

⁸⁴ Foley to the Minister of the Navy, 8 Oct 1841 (Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

months and 21 days, he was an enseigne de vaisseau. Instead of taking part in the French retreat from Spain in the Peninsular War like the character Antoine in *Eki*, Foley had been a naval officer taking part in France's withdrawal from New Zealand and abandonment of the French settlement of Akaroa at a time when it was clear that British sovereignty over the whole of New Zealand could no longer be questioned.

He then spent short periods on the *Diadème* (1846), the *Trident* (1846), the *Salamandre* (1847-48) and the *Agile* (1849), based in the port of Toulon and sailing mostly within the Mediterranean, visiting Constantinople, Africa and Spain.⁸⁵ On the *Salamandre*, he was under the orders of Lieutenant Reynaud, who had been second-in-command of the *Rhin*. Foley saw Reynaud as a friend and was not pleased when Reynaud moved to a new command and did not take him with him. Although Foley was promoted to the grade of lieutenant de vaisseau, himself, on 13 September 1850, the four years in the navy that followed his return from New Zealand were a very difficult time for him. Captain Coupvent-Desbois of the *Agile* was a former student of the École Polytechnique and had been on Dumont d'Urville's third voyage to the Pacific and so he had a lot in common with Foley. His judgement on Foley was, however, far from positive:

Officier d'un caractère fort honorable. [...] Il possède une instruction théorique assez complète mais n'a pas le talent de l'application.
Médiocrement formé comme marin, médiocre observateur; calcule mal.
Assez zélé, assez discipliné.⁸⁶

Reynaud was distinctly more generous in his official report on Foley's service on the *Salamandre*, but he refers to the problem that underlay the difficulties that Foley was experiencing:

Cet officier [...] a de l'instruction, du zèle, et beaucoup de bonne volonté. Il est à regretter que sa santé soit si mauvaise.⁸⁷

The four-year campaign in the Pacific aboard the *Rhin* had had profound effects on the health of a number of officers and crew. From 1846 onwards, Foley suffered from "une inflammation chronique des intestins" or "gastro-colite chronique" which

⁸⁵ Meryon to Foley, 19 Jan and 10 Aug 1847 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièces 2 and 3); Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098.

⁸⁶ Coupvent-Desbois report on Foley, 14 Mar 1849 (Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

⁸⁷ Reynaud's report on Foley, 30 Dec 1848 (Foley's naval dossier, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

made him lose a lot of weight, puffed up his face, made him very sensitive to the least cold and the least exertion, and meant that he could no longer perform his duties as an officer. In June 1849 he was given special sick leave for six months and this leave was renewed, but without pay, for a further eighteen months. After further medical tests in July 1851 which diagnosed “une affection chronique des voies digestives, caractérisée par un amaigrissement général et une grande faiblesse”, he was put on the naval reserve list (“en non activité, pour infirmités temporaires”). In June 1854 he resigned his commission and his naval career came to an end.⁸⁸ Foley could now put on the title page of his books, not only “ancien élève de l'École Polytechnique”, but also “lieutenant de vaisseau démissionnaire” or “ancien officier de Marine”.

Those five years of sick leave were spent profitably in Paris, however, preparing himself for another career:

il forma dignement, à trente ans, la résolution, qu'il a noblement accomplie en cinq ans d'études persévérantes, de changer de carrière en se faisant médecin.⁸⁹

On 22 August 1855, a year after his resignation from the Navy and at the age of 35, he successfully defended his doctoral thesis at the École de Médecine. He was now, like Antoine in *Eki*, a doctor of medicine in Paris, after having served abroad in the French armed forces. In becoming a doctor, he was also following in the footsteps of his older brother, Edmond Louis, who had graduated from the École de Médecine in 1842 and had then gone to work in the Algiers public hospital. Foley visited his brother there when taking a short break in his studies.⁹⁰ Edmond Louis Foley collaborated with Victor Martin to write a book, “couronné par l'Institut de France et imprimé par ordre du ministre de la guerre”, on health and the colonisation of Algeria.⁹¹

On returning to Paris, Foley sometimes stayed with his parents, who had retired to the little town of Marly-le-Roy just outside of the city. Despite Foley's belief that his

⁸⁸ All these details, including a number of medical reports, are to be found in Foley's naval dossier (Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, CC⁷ 1098).

⁸⁹ Letter from Auguste Comte to Hadery, 30 Aug 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 107).

⁹⁰ Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, p.41.

⁹¹ AE Victor Martin and Louis Edmond Foley, *Histoire statistique de la colonisation algérienne au point de vue du peuplement et de l'hygiène*, 1851.

father saw everything in terms of money, his circle of friends seems to have been quite wide and to have included the composer Paul Henrion, for one.⁹² During his years of study, Foley kept up his friendships with the various men he had got to know while on the *Rhin* in the South Pacific, including his friend and fellow junior officer, Charles Meryon, who had also resigned from the Navy to pursue a new career in Paris as an artist. They not only wrote quite frequent letters to each other, but shared a flat at 26 rue Neuve St-Etienne-du-Mont in the Latin Quarter for some two and a half years (1850-1853). The two men also remained in contact with fellow officers Bérard, Reynaud, Lion, Vedel, Guenin, Protet, Villeneuve, Salicis and no doubt others as well.⁹³

An 1849 letter from Meryon to Foley contrasts Foley's belief in the post-Enlightenment concept of human progress with Meryon's own pessimism about human nature.⁹⁴ It is not a surprise, therefore, to see that on 8 January 1851, Foley was officially admitted to the Société Positiviste, which the philosopher Auguste Comte had founded in 1848.⁹⁵ Because of their scientific training, people who, like Foley, had gone through the École Polytechnique were drawn to doctrines that applied scientific method to the study of human society.

Il faut que l'École polytechnique soit le canal par lequel nos idées se répandent dans la société, c'est le lait que nous avons sucé à notre chère École qui doit nourrir les générations à venir. Nous y avons appris la langue positive et les méthodes de recherche et démonstration qui doivent aujourd'hui faire marcher les sciences politiques.⁹⁶

Comte (1798-1857) had published his *Plan des travaux scientifiques nécessaires pour réorganiser la société* in 1822, and his major work, the *Cours ou Système de philosophie positive* between 1830 and 1842. After Foley joined the Positivists, Comte published two further works, however, which were not accepted by all his followers: *Politique positive, ou traité de sociologie instituant le culte de l'Humanité* (1851-4) and a shorter version of the same work, *Catéchisme positiviste, ou sommaire exposition en 13 entretiens entre une femme et un prêtre de l'Humanité*

⁹² Meryon to Foley, 29 Apr 1848 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièce 5). Henrion (1819-1901) composed music for songs, dances, operettas and sketches and was a leading figure in the Société des auteurs et des compositeurs.

⁹³ Meryon to Foley, 19 Jan 1847 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièce 2).

⁹⁴ Meryon to Foley, 20 May 1849 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièce 10).

⁹⁵ Liste chronologique des membres de la Société Positiviste (Maison d'Auguste Comte).

⁹⁶ Saint-Simon and Enfantin, *Œuvres*, 1963-64, XXIV, 86.

(1852). It was this later Comte that Foley knew and admired, and Foley would now attend the society's weekly meetings on Wednesday evenings from 7 till 10 pm at Comte's house in the rue Monsieur-le-Prince. Auguste Comte became an important father-figure for Foley, who was very receptive to his values and ideas, and, for the rest of his life, Foley would regard himself as a Positivist.

Comte's letters show that he had a very high opinion of Foley, whom he classed among "mes meilleurs disciples".⁹⁷ He saw Foley as one of the future priests of Positivism, an elite group that would provide guidance to the masses. To assume "le sacerdoce de l'Humanité", one had to be at least forty-two years old, but Foley was preparing for this role "avec persévérance et dignité".⁹⁸ This was a great honour, for Comte thought that one of the four men he was training for the Positivist ministry would take over the leadership of the Positivist Society when he, himself, died.

Mais dans ces quatre aspirants de même âge, quel est celui qui méritera de me succéder après dix ans d'efforts, si toutefois l'un d'eux s'y trouve réellement destiné?⁹⁹

Along with Pierre Laffitte, who would actually take over the role of leader of the Positivist Society on Comte's death, Foley was given the task of looking after the details of Comte's and the society's rather desperate finances, writing letters asking for donations and taking money to Comte's estranged wife. When two English-speaking Positivists came to Paris in 1854, it was Foley who was asked to look after them for the duration of their stay¹⁰⁰ and it was also, presumably, because of Foley's knowledge of English, as well as mathematics, that Comte gave him an American book on geometry to see if it was a significant contribution to the subject.¹⁰¹ Comte chose Foley as one of the thirteen executors of his will and they were to be the Apostles of the new scientific church that would replace outdated Christianity. Foley developed close friendships with a number of other Positivists, including Pierre Laffitte, Joseph Lonchampt, Auguste Hadery, Dr Georges Audiffrent and Dr Eugène Sémerie. Audiffrent had joined the society at the same time as Foley and told Comte

⁹⁷ Comte to Hadery, 25 Jan 1856 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 211)

⁹⁸ Comte to de Capellen, 19 Sep 1852 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 6: 37).

⁹⁹ Comte to de Blignières, 29 Nov 1852 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 6: 438).

¹⁰⁰ Comte to Laffitte, 18 Aug 1854; Comte to Eugène Robinet, 22 Aug 1854 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 7: 245; 257). They were a lawyer, Hutton, and a mathematics professor, Allman, both from Ireland.

¹⁰¹ Comte to Laffitte, 8 Aug 1851 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 6: 133-4).

soon afterwards that he was very fond of Foley and greatly admired him.¹⁰² The Comte-Foley correspondence is full of references to letters that Foley wrote to, or received from, other leading Positivists, both in France and abroad.

Comte spoke of “le zèle actif et délicat de mon éminent disciple, M. Foley”.¹⁰³ “Éminent” is a word he often used to describe Foley: “Cet éminent disciple figurera dignement parmi les principaux positivistes, quand il aura suffisamment développé le rare mélange qui le caractérise entre les qualités essentielles du sentiment, de l’intelligence et de l’activité”; “notre éminent confrère, M. Foley”; “l’émminente personne de M. Foley”.¹⁰⁴ He praised his “dévouement” and “sagesse”.¹⁰⁵ Before reading Foley’s medical thesis, Comte spoke of it as “exceptionnelle”, “mémorable” and “remarquable”.¹⁰⁶ After reading it, he was only a little less enthusiastic: “Malgré ses graves imperfections de forme et de fond, je la regarde comme un début éminent, qui confirme mes espérances sur le prochain avenir de ce digne médecin, que je crois pleinement susceptible de devenir un véritable prêtre de l’Humanité, tant de cœur, que d’esprit et de caractère”.¹⁰⁷ Foley, who often gave Comte free medical advice, had told him that he would gradually transform his medical practice into the exercise of his role as a priest of the Religion of Humanity. Comte saw Foley’s approach to medicine, particularly his emphasis on mental well-being, as in line with his own thinking and as promising a good future for Positivist medicine:

Les réflexions que ce cas vous suggère sur l’importance de l’unité morale pour garantir la santé physique me font heureusement reconnaître votre aptitude à développer l’efficacité médicale du positivisme, qui sera bientôt envisagé comme augmentant la longévité par l’établissement de l’harmonie cérébrale et dès lors corporelle.¹⁰⁸

Comte’s evaluations of Foley indicate that he thought he was a very gifted young man who had character and feeling as well as intellect. Just how much of this high opinion was the result of being flattered by Foley’s enthusiastic admiration for “mon cher maître” is hard to judge. Unlike the naval superior who had seen him as an

¹⁰² See Comte’s reply to Audiffrent, 18 Nov 1854 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 7: 270).

¹⁰³ Comte to Hadery, 11 Sep 1854 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 7: 260).

¹⁰⁴ Comte to Audiffrent, 18 Nov 1854, 23 Aug 1855; Comte to Hadery, 30 Aug 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 7: 270; 8: 103; 107).

¹⁰⁵ Comte to Foley, 11 Oct 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 129).

¹⁰⁶ Comte to Audiffrent, 23 Aug 1855; Comte to Hadery, 30 Aug 1855; Comte to Laffitte, 30 Aug 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 103; 107; 109).

¹⁰⁷ Comte to Audiffrent, 2 Sep 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 111-2).

¹⁰⁸ Comte to Foley, 26 Sep 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 122).

impractical intellectual, Comte saw Foley as energetic (“la noble énergie qui le caractérise”¹⁰⁹) and a man who got things done. Comte, in fact, blamed the navy for reinforcing “les tendances tranchantes et critiques auxquelles vous êtes spontanément enclin”,¹¹⁰ which would seem to be telling Foley that he should spend more time reflecting before coming to a decision. However, he also saw Foley as a future theoretician of Positivism, even though Foley, himself, felt that he needed a little more actual experience before he felt able to theorise. Without that experience and “malgré vos encouragements,” wrote Foley to Comte, “je ne me lancerais pas dans des tentatives théoriques avec quelque espoir de succès”.¹¹¹ In particular, he believed that one should experience “le véritable creuset de l’homme, l’affection féminine” as a preliminary to any claim to wisdom and, in *Eki*, finds fault with Jesus for not having experienced marriage before beginning his teaching. Comte’s encouragement to write would, however, be a major motivation in Foley’s subsequent life. He would need to acquire an income, for “les théoriciens surtout ont besoin de secours pécuniaires, pour entreprendre d’atteindre le noble but que vous leur assignez”.¹¹² Comte, then, had given him a task in life and he was working out the practical details of his life that would allow him to take it up. All the same, and despite his admiration for Comte, Foley retained his intellectual independence and was not afraid to criticise his master:

Malgré votre recommandation, mon cher et vénéré maitre, c’est cette dernière hypothèse que j’adopte. Je vous le déclare franchement au risque de vous déplaire, une fois de plus.¹¹³

The reservations that Comte had over Foley’s thesis are unfortunately rather vague, but they could be a criticism of a not always well-controlled enthusiasm. Foley’s own view of himself at this time was that he was constantly undertaking something new and ground-breaking:

Ma vie se peut partager en une suite de phases dans chacune desquelles j’ai tant bien que mal appris quelque chose. Jusqu’à ce jour elle ne fut gueres que toute théorique et toute protégée, avant l’école, dans la marine et pendant mes études médicales ; maintenant une autre suite de phases commence, celles de la réalité, et me voila encore révolutionnaire au commencement de celles-ci,

¹⁰⁹ Comte to John Fisher, 26 Feb 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 409).

¹¹⁰ Comte to Foley, 28 Apr 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 449).

¹¹¹ Foley to Comte, 25 Sept 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d’Auguste Comte).

¹¹² Foley to Comte, 10 Oct 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d’Auguste Comte).

¹¹³ Foley to Comte, 25 Sept 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d’Auguste Comte).

comme je le fus au commencement des autres.¹¹⁴

Along with his medical degree and his adoption of Positivism as a sort of secular religion, the third major event in Foley's life in the 1850s was his marriage. Back in 1847, at the age of 27, he had told Meryon of his aversion for "les belles".¹¹⁵ He was no doubt a little embarrassed at not yet being married. An older sister, Anne Augustine, had married a businessman, Christophe Angelar, in 1837; and a younger sister, Louise Léontine, had also married a businessman, Félix Bourdoux, in 1850; while his youngest sister, Elisabeth Jeanne, had married Eugène Carlian in 1851. His older brother, Edmond Louis, must have been married outside of Paris as his marriage certificate has not been located, but a son was born to Edmond Louis and his wife in Algiers in 1853. Foley's younger brother, Félix Victor, married in 1854 and became an inspector at the Crédit Foncier de France in Algiers.¹¹⁶ Even though he was the third of six children, Foley was the last to get married. On getting married, he would receive some money from his father but, until then, had to manage on a tight income, which, however, still allowed him to make frequent donations to his desperately poor artist friend, Charles Meryon.

Foley's father had suggested a number of possible brides, but Foley had turned them all down.¹¹⁷ Just after qualifying as a doctor, he found himself spending all his time at the bedside of his father who was unwell and this seems to have made him think that it was time for him to get married.

J'espere que d'ici à peu de temps, je pourrai dans la vie de famille trouver le marche-pied naturel qui doit m'élever et me soutenir au niveau de la bonté. L'intelligence et le sentiment du devoir ne suffisent pas à des natures comme la mienne, pour le maintenir à la hauteur du dévouement. Et malgré vos encouragements je ne me lancerais pas dans des tentatives théoriques avec quelque espoir de succes, sans avoir passé par le véritable creuset de l'homme, l'affection féminine. Si j'avais été plus heureux sous le rapport du cœur, au milieu des êtres qui me sont unis par la naissance, au moment d'entreprendre une vie nouvelle, je ne me sentirais pas si incertain de l'avenir. Mais, comme je vous l'ai dit si souvent, je sens fort bien qu'un mauvais choix peut me perdre pour toujours et je crains de choisir, car je dois prendre une femme qui soit à la fois pour mon individu et une mere et une

¹¹⁴ Foley to Comte, 4 July 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹¹⁵ See Meryon's reply in Meryon to Foley, 16 Aug 1847 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièce 3).

¹¹⁶ Archives de la ville de Paris, 6 May 1837 (5 Mi 1/5111); 19 Oct 1850 (5 Mi 1/5247); 26 Feb 1851 (5 Mi 1/5252); Edmond Antoine Foley, *Étude sur la statistique de la morgue 1851-1879* (medical thesis), 1880.

¹¹⁷ Comte to John Fisher, 26 Feb 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 409).

compagne.¹¹⁸

Foley was not infrequently to be found in the company of women, however, and was quick to come to the aid of both men and women in distress. In 1855, he asked Comte's permission to bring an unnamed married woman, the mother of two sons, aged 16 and 14, to a Positivist meeting, and Comte was very welcoming of this "prosélyte".¹¹⁹ It seems almost certain that this was Madame Félicie Guillaume, who was, indeed, the mother of two boys, Charles Auguste and Émile, and the older of the two, Charles Auguste, was precisely sixteen at this time.¹²⁰ Foley seems to have at least contemplated the possibility that this woman, "une fort bonne et fort intelligente personne" who had "de précieuses qualités", might become his partner: "Que deviendra cette relation, je l'ignore," he wrote to Comte. He described the woman as "singulièrement mariée". It is also possible but less certain that he was still talking about Félicie Guillaume when, in 1856, he asked fellow Positivists to help him come to the aid of the widow of an "archirévolutionnaire" whose husband had committed suicide the previous year, who had children to care for and was desperately in need of money.¹²¹ He had women lodging with him at his flat at 12 boulevard du Temple, presumably out of a sense of charity, but much to the astonishment and disapproval of the woman who became his fiancée. Comte advised him to extricate himself from the delicate situation by asking his fiancée's family if they would mind lodging the women at their place.¹²²

Foley's friendship with Félicie Guillaume was to last many years, but she became the partner of Prosper Enfantin, not of Foley. Foley indicates that he first met her in about 1840¹²³, when he was a student at the École polytechnique and she was a young wife and mother. After he met up with her again in 1855, he found that she was very interested in Positivist philosophy: "elle m'a demandé en quoi consistait le positivisme. Je lui ai aussi rapidement que possible et aussi clairement que j'ai pu,

¹¹⁸ Foley to Comte, 25 Sep 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹¹⁹ Foley to Comte, 10 Oct 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte); Comte to Foley, 11 Oct 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 129).

¹²⁰ Mme Félicie Guillaume, née Froliger, seems also to have been known as Eugénie (Dictionnaire biographique des Saint-Simoniens, www.web.mrash.fr/labo/LIRE).

¹²¹ Foley to Laffitte, 31 May 1856 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹²² Comte to Foley, 3 Sep 1856 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 296-7).

¹²³ "Je la connais depuis 15 ans", Foley to Comte, 10 Oct 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

exposé le dogme de l'humanité."¹²⁴ It was through this intelligent and independent-minded woman that he met two prominent men who became his patrons.¹²⁵ One of these was Adolphe Jullien (1803-1873)¹²⁶, an engineer and the uncle of Foley's future wife.

In September 1855 Foley was still wondering who he would marry and in May 1856 he was beginning to organise his wedding.¹²⁷ Between those dates, his relationship with Sara Léontine Jullien must have progressed rapidly, and apparently with more initial enthusiasm on her side than on his. Comte talks of it as "un mariage précipité, que pourtant il fait un peu ralentir à ma prière".¹²⁸ They married on 13 September 1856 at the town hall of Paris's 12th arrondissement, two days after a Positivist pre-marriage ceremony that was presided over by Comte himself. Under pressure from his bride's family, Foley also had a Catholic marriage a few days later. Despite this concession to traditional religion, Sara was, as we have seen, from one of "ces familles, incurablement révolutionnaires".¹²⁹ Born in Metz in 1834, she was much younger than Foley: he was 36 and she 22 at the time of their marriage. She was the daughter of Saint-Cyr Hercule Horace Alphonse Jullien and Anne Sophie Berger, and the grand-daughter of the late Marc-Antoine Jullien, friend of Robespierre. Various members of the Jullien family remained prominent in French life in the nineteenth century, including a cousin, Édouard Lockroy, who married the widow of Victor Hugo's son and became Minister of Commerce, War and the Navy.

The first months of Foley's and Sara's marriage were difficult, and Foley discussed his problems openly with Comte. Indeed, according to Comte, Foley had contributed significantly to the Positivist view of marriage. At a Positivist marriage ceremony, the bride and groom would promise "que leur cohabitation restera purement fraternelle pendant les trois mois qui suivront leur mariage civil, afin que leur union

¹²⁴ Foley to Comte, 10 Oct 1855 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹²⁵ *Eki*, dédicace.

¹²⁶ Pierre Alexandre Adolphe Jullien had been a student of the École Polytechnique before having a very successful career as an engineer, constructing bridges and then railways. He published a number of technical articles in the *Annales des ponts et chaussées*. He ended up being the Directeur of the Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Ouest (*Dictionnaire de biographie française*). Foley's seventh child, born in 1867, would be named Adolphe (Archives de la ville de Paris, 5 Mi 3R/685).

¹²⁷ Foley to Comte, 25 Sep 1855; Foley to Laffitte, 31 May 1856 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹²⁸ Comte to Hadery, 1 July 1856 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8:275).

¹²⁹ Comte to Fisher, 26 Feb 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 409).

religieuse soit dignement préparée.”¹³⁰ Comte thought that Sara had only pretended to be interested in Positivism in order to win over Foley who was not in love with her. She was still strongly influenced by her father, whom Comte considered to be “stupidement roussien” and an anarchist, so that, unlike the Positivists, she did not think that life should be systematically organised in order to create a better society. Although he was initially impressed by her and wrote to Foley that he was sending his “affectueux hommages à votre aimable compagne”, Comte came to the conclusion that she was “sa fatale poupée” who simply had “une gracieuseté banale”, a very ordinary mind and lacked “tendresse”. He lamented the “triste mariage imprudemment subi par le noble docteur Foley”¹³¹ and wrote to Foley, calling his marriage “la grande faute que vous avez commise” (which was also Comte’s view of his own marriage) but expressing his confidence that Foley would overcome this “fatale influence” on his career by taking the female role and teaching this cold-hearted sceptic how to be soft and tender.¹³²

However, the fault was not all on one side. Foley decided to move away from Paris and take over another doctor’s medical practice in the small town of Mantes-la-Jolie so as to remove Sara from the influence of her father. (It also removed Foley from Comte, who missed the company of this friend “dont je regrette vivement l’absence” and felt that the Positivists were becoming too dispersed.¹³³) Once they were in Mantes and spending more time in each other’s company, Foley’s relationship with his wife improved immensely and he came to appreciate Sara’s good qualities and to realise his own mistakes. He came to trust her judgement rather than his own:

Sans les justes observations de ma femme, je serais encore dans la mauvaise voie.¹³⁴

He also saw that Sara was better at relating to other people than he was himself. He saw himself as having a characteristic Foley vanity and the habit of ordering other people around: he had to learn to be less rigid and more patient. With other people, he tended, he said, to be either too frank or too reserved, depending on whether he

¹³⁰ Comte to Laffitte, 4 Oct 1855 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 126)

¹³¹ Comte to Foley, 22 Sep 1856; Comte to John Fisher, 26 Feb and 26 Mar 1857; Comte to Audiffrent, 29 Mar 1857; Comte to Hadery, 3 May 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 305; 408-11; 420-1; 426; 455).

¹³² Comte to Foley, 13 Aug 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 542-3).

¹³³ Comte to John Fisher, 26 Feb and 26 March 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 411; 421).

¹³⁴ Foley to Infantin, 11 Aug 1860 (Fonds Infantin, 7735/27, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal).

felt that the people he was with approved of him or not. Sara helped him to see the good aspects of his own family and to get on with them better. Although Comte and some other leading Positivists saw Sara as hostile towards their doctrine, she was, claimed Foley, simply being careful and critical, and he was to blame for alienating her from Positivism.¹³⁵

Que de fois j'ai choqué ma femme, mon cher maître, que de fois je l'ai choquée en la traitant comme un enfant.¹³⁶

Unlike Comte, Foley discovered that women were human beings, not children or angels, and that he could discuss matters rationally with his wife. The first two of their eight children were born in Mantes-la-Jolie: Marguerite Sophie Antoinette in 1857 and Sarah Madelaine in 1859. Judging by the number of consultations he gave in a very short time after his arrival¹³⁷, and despite his impatience with money matters and some problems with individual patients, Foley's medical practice in Mantes was very successful.

Foley's spiritual father and confidant, Auguste Comte, died of stomach cancer in September 1857 and leadership of the Positivists was taken over by Foley's friend, Pierre Laffitte. Foley was one of the Comtean disciples, along with Robinet, Audiffrent and Lonchampt, to put pressure on Laffitte to emphasise the religious side of Comte's message: "je suis positiviste religieux, fanatique même," he wrote to him.¹³⁸ He did not want the Society to go in the same direction as the Littré faction which accepted Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* but rejected his *Système de politique positive* and the religion of Humanity which characterised Comte's later thinking. Foley referred to Littré as an "archi infâme canaille" and warned Pierre Laffitte to beware also of de Montègre and Mme de Capellen. Littré had quarrelled with Comte in 1851 over Comte's approval of Napoleon III's coup d'état and had set himself up as the head of a separate Positivist faction. Foley wanted a spiritual head of the Société Positiviste, not an accountant, since altruism was always central to his view of Positivism and, at a personal level, Comte had been his confessor and moral advisor.

¹³⁵ Foley to Comte, 25 Apr, 4 Jul, 29 Jul 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte); Comte to Foley, 6 July 1857 (Comte, *Correspondance générale*, 8: 513).

¹³⁶ Foley to Comte, 4 Jul 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹³⁷ Foley to Comte, 25 Apr 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹³⁸ Foley to Laffitte, 10 Sep 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte). See also WM Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century*, p.39.

One problem that Foley had with the new leadership was that they wished to hand over all of Comte's property, including his papers, to his widow. Foley, who had visited her regularly to hand over her allowance, was horrified at this proposal, saying that she could not be trusted, and set about the immense task of making copies of all of Comte's papers before they were handed over to her. Remaining as an executor of Comte's will and continuing to pay his subscription to the *Société Positiviste*, Foley refused to continue to serve on the society's committee.

Explaining his view of Positivism was a major motive for nearly all of his subsequent publications and, despite his occasional pungent criticism when he thought he saw Comte's views being betrayed, he kept in touch with a number of Positivist friends throughout his life. (Another friend with similar ideas, Audiffrent, ended up being excluded from the Society in 1879.¹³⁹)



Sara Foley, by Etex



Antoine Édouard Foley, by Etex

Antoine Etex, the Positivist painter and sculptor who had done a portrait and a bust of Auguste Comte, made medallion portraits of Foley and his wife in 1859¹⁴⁰ and another leading Positivist, Joseph Lonchampt, a stock-broker and another executor of Comte's will, witnessed the registration of the birth—and, a few weeks later, the death—of Foley's fourth child in 1862. His younger brother, Victor Lonchampt, was the other witness on both occasions, suggesting that the two families were close at this time.¹⁴¹ The tone of a letter that Foley wrote to Joseph Lonchampt in 1870 in

¹³⁹ Foley to Lonchampt, 21 Sept 1870 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte); *Liste chronologique des membres de la Société Positiviste* (Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁴⁰ Meryon to Foley, 29 Sep 1859 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 réserve: pièce 40).

¹⁴¹ Alphonse Edouard Léon Foley was born on 25 June 1862 in the 9th arrondissement and died on 21 July (Archives de la ville de Paris, 5 Mi 3R/676 and 5 Mi 3R/677).

which he expresses his annoyance at his treatment by the Société Positiviste leadership may indicate something of a crisis in his friendship with Lonchampt, however. All the same, it may be a mistake to read too much into such letters as Foley was inclined to be direct, or even impetuous, in his criticisms, as Comte recognised, and then be friendly and apologetic a moment later. His criticism of ideas was not necessarily meant as a criticism of the thinker. Foley's letters to Pierre Laffitte over the years express a wide range of positive and negative emotions. He appears very testy but principled in a series of letters to Laffitte about the publication of Comte's testament and letters:

Messieurs les exécuteurs testamentaires d'Auguste Comte.
Messieurs

Bien que je ne fasse point partie de votre société commerciale; je suis prêt à fournir mon treizième aux frais du procès, que vous venez de soutenir; et mon treizième aussi aux frais de la publication des lettres et du testament, que vous allez faire enfin; j'aime à le croire.¹⁴²

Another member of the Positivist Society, the banker Henri Alexandre Lefèvre, witnessed the registration of the birth of another Foley child in 1867¹⁴³ and Foley would include the text of an essay by Lefèvre (about Catholicism being an outmoded religion) in a work he published in 1870.¹⁴⁴

Within a few years of Comte's death, however, Foley found another father-figure, the charismatic Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), wealthy businessman and leader of the Saint-Simonians. Curiously, Foley made the acquaintance of both Comte and Enfantin when they each had only six years to live. Like Comte before him, Enfantin became a close friend and authoritative counsellor, but, unlike Comte, helped Foley out financially. By this stage as well, Foley had largely made up his mind on philosophical and political matters. While interested in Enfantin's ideas, he was not influenced by them when they departed from Comte's doctrine. Enfantin was the other patron (along with Adolphe Jullien) that Foley met through Madame Félicie Guillaume and, in the mid-nineteenth century, Enfantin and Adolphe Jullien were leading figures in the construction of the French railway system, Enfantin as an

¹⁴² Foley to Laffitte, 22 March 1870. See also his letters of 29 April 1868, 11 May 1868 and a legal document drawn up on 20 May 1868 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁴³ Birth of Adolphe René Edme Foley, 28 March 1867, in the 9th arrondissement (Archives de la ville de Paris, 5 Mi 3/685).

¹⁴⁴ See the neuvième nuit of *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, 1870.

administrator and Jullien as an engineer and then an administrator. Félicie Guillaume became, in fact, Enfantin's "compagne" in the last years of his life. The two were living together and were treated as a couple by their wide circle of friends and acquaintances and Enfantin's will makes it clear that some of the furniture in his house was hers and should be excluded from the property that would go to his heirs.¹⁴⁵

Foley was still living in Mantes-la-Jolie, a little distance from Paris, when he made Enfantin's acquaintance. The first of four very friendly surviving letters from Foley to Enfantin dates from 1858, less than a year after Comte's death, and indicates the beginnings of their acquaintance. In it Foley acknowledges receiving "vos livres" some time earlier from Enfantin and apologises for not writing sooner. Enfantin was clearly interested in gaining a convert to the Saint-Simonian cause. Félicie Guillaume had recently visited Foley in Mantes-la-Jolie with her children and Enfantin may have gone there too. Enfantin may have been in his sixties and suffering from gout but he was still very active in the business and intellectual world. By 1860 Foley had returned from small town life in Mantes-la-Jolie, where he had found people petty-minded, to practise medicine in Paris itself, living at various addresses in the eighth and ninth arrondissements.¹⁴⁶ Enfantin thought sufficiently highly of Foley to suggest that he might be put in charge of the railway medical services in Orléans, but Adolphe Jullien rejected the idea, seeing Foley as unsuited to such a position.

Je ne pense pas, d'ailleurs, que Foley, jeune médecin, puisse convenablement être mis à la tête d'un service médical de chemin de fer.¹⁴⁷

Jullien may have meant by this that forty-year-old Foley was inexperienced as he had only been a doctor for five years, but it is difficult not to see this as a negative appraisal of Foley's character. It would seem, however, that Enfantin continued to think highly of Foley and paid for a Foley family holiday in the south of France immediately after this, perhaps as a compensation.¹⁴⁸

Enfantin was a witness at the registration of the birth of Foley's third child,

¹⁴⁵ Saint-Simon and Enfantin, *Œuvres*, 1963-64, XIII, 244.

¹⁴⁶ Foley is listed in the Paris *Annuaire-almanach du commerce et de l'industrie* from 1862 to 1877 at various addresses: 54 rue d'Amsterdam, 12 rue de Milan, 10 place de Laborde, 5 rue Helder. He is not listed in 1860 or 1878.

¹⁴⁷ Adolphe Jullien to Enfantin, 29 avril 1860, Fonds Enfantin 7737/293, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

¹⁴⁸ Foley to Enfantin, 16 juin 1860, Fonds Enfantin 7736/29, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

Madeleine Charles Auguste, who was born in Paris on 9 January 1861 and became a prolific and well-known writer.¹⁴⁹ This shows that the two men were quite close at this time. Later that same year, Foley's friend, Meryon, who had, by this time, become somewhat reclusive, met the newly appointed Governor of New Caledonia at Enfantin's house, presumably in the company of Foley.¹⁵⁰ A letter, dated 24 March 1862, from Foley to Enfantin and Mme Guillaume is an invitation to dinner with friends at Foley's house. He indicates that he would also be inviting Adolphe Jullien.¹⁵¹ Enfantin was present in 1863 when Foley, described by Enfantin as "un des nôtres, notre ami qui est un de mes élèves", presented a paper on compressed air to the Cercle de la Presse Scientifique.¹⁵² In the published report on his research in this field, *Du travail dans l'air comprimé*, Foley attributes a "réflexion judicieuse" to Enfantin.¹⁵³ Enfantin died in 1864.

The postscriptum to the first volume of Foley's *Quatre années en Océanie*, published in 1866, two years after Père Enfantin's death, describes the death and funeral: Enfantin died "dans les bras de sa fille (Mme Guillaume) et de ses deux petit-fils (Auguste et Émile)". The relationships are not, of course, to be taken literally since Père Enfantin was a father-figure to all his disciples, including Félicie Guillaume and his earlier "compagne", Mme Adèle Morlane. Enfantin saw marriage as humiliating and as the state or the church intruding into a private relationship between individuals. A biographer of Enfantin, Jean-Pierre Alem, thinks that Mme Guillaume was showing signs of mental imbalance in 1863, since a letter from Arlès Dufour seems to imply that she believed that she was actually Enfantin's biological daughter and not just a daughter in the Saint-Simonian sense of disciple.¹⁵⁴ Foley could be seen to be giving credence to this belief by talking of her children by her marriage to a Monsieur Guillaume as Enfantin's grandchildren, but one cannot exclude a less literal interpretation. All his disciples called him "père" and signed off their letters as his son or daughter. The very youthful Auguste and Émile could well be seen as his spiritual grandsons, then, even though Auguste's letters to Enfantin address him as

¹⁴⁹ Archives de la ville de Paris: Registre des actes de naissance, 1861 (5 Mi 3R/657).

¹⁵⁰ Meryon to Admiral Reynaud, 8 Dec 1864 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Yb³ 1673 Res, pièce 42). Charles Guillaumin (1808-1875), a Saint-Simonian, was appointed as Governor of New Caledonia in 1861 and held the post from 1862 until 1870.

¹⁵¹ Fonds Enfantin, Ms 7726/22 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris).

¹⁵² Ducros, *Charles Meryon*, 1968, item 176.

¹⁵³ Foley, *Du travail dans l'air comprimé*, 1863, p.75, footnote.

¹⁵⁴ Alem, *Enfantin, le prophète aux sept visages*, 1930, pp.211-6.

“père”.

At Enfantin's funeral, Foley himself “[a] soutenu sa tête admirable pendant qu'on le mettait au cercueil.” The postscriptum of *Quatre années en Océanie* is a lengthy eulogy to a man who had provided him with financial support and advice:

Donc, parce que j'ai trouvé, dans Prosper Enfantin, un protecteur empressé de secourir mes besoins matériels et mes chagrins par sa bonté, mes hésitations par son courage, et mon travail mental par son esprit si vif à tout comprendre, et surtout si affable et si modeste à bien conseiller; je l'ai aimé, je l'aime et l'aimerai toujours; et toujours! j'aurai plaisir à l'appeler du nom de Père que la gratitude a, lentement mais profondément, gravé sur mes lèvres.¹⁵⁵

Foley proceeds with a dialogue between himself and Enfantin, in which Enfantin makes good-humoured comments on an overly enthusiastic Foley. One supposes that this reflects their real-life relationship. The tone is quite close to the cheeky banter found in letters from Mme Guillaume's son Adolphe to Enfantin and shows how relaxed Enfantin was with his more intimate friends. A telling clue to the closeness of Foley and Enfantin is that, in 1952, Foley's son Charles donated a number of Enfantin's personal possessions (the “gilet de Prosper Enfantin” with the name LE PÈRE across the front; a Saint-Simonian “collioc”, a type of necklace; and the “nécessaire à déjeuner de Prosper Enfantin”, a set of folding cutlery) to the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.¹⁵⁶ Charles presumably inherited them from his father. It was as a friend and counsellor, “la personne au cœur noble et généreux”,¹⁵⁷ that Foley valued Enfantin, but Enfantin's renowned financial generosity had also clearly been important to his protégé.

Enfantin and Comte had both been disciples of Saint-Simon, but had subsequently followed rather divergent paths, and Foley's ideas on the history and organisation of society seem hardly to have been influenced by Enfantin. In a long letter to Enfantin on the relationship between Saint-Simon's and Comte's ideas, Foley saw Saint-Simon as the precursor of Comte.

L'un démontre ce que l'autre dit, ou mieux l'un formule et résout le problème que l'autre indique et veut au plus haut degré.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 249.

¹⁵⁶ Fonds Enfantin, Ms 7731/110-3; FE-ICONO-44 and 35 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris).

¹⁵⁷ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 248.

¹⁵⁸ Foley to Enfantin, 11 August 1858 (Fonds Enfantin 7735/27, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal).

Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonians had sorted out the material problem of replacing military society by an industrial society that, through its networks, reduced the likelihood of war. Thanks to scientific progress, the productive world of commerce, industry and agriculture provided a counterbalancing force to that of the military. Enfantin himself had “servi de point central à tout ce monde de travailleurs, si je vous ai bien compris. Gloire à vous.” However, Comte went further than this, says Foley, for he added a moral and educative dimension. As well as a military society being replaced by an industrial one, Catholicism had to be replaced by Comte’s “religion de l’humanité”. Just as Charlemagne had been assisted by Catholicism when creating his empire, modern industrial society required a new spiritual power, organised and hierarchical, which would be

non absolu mais relatif, non surnaturel mais humain, non de toute éternité, mais vécu en son temps; non point énoncé de la sagesse immuable de dieu, mais bien de la sagesse relative et progressive des hommes; afin que consacré à son tour par la papauté de l’humanité, le régime pacifique puisse comme la monarchie française poursuivre son lustre sans verser de sang, et sans exploiter les misères humaines.



Enfantin’s waistcoat (Foley family possession)

Certainly, Foley would now call himself a socialist as well as a Positivist. Socialism, of course, in those pre-Marxist days meant something rather different from what it does today. It was often seen as the opposite of individualism,¹⁵⁹ and this was the

¹⁵⁹ “Je forgeai ce mot par opposition à l’individualisme qui commençait à avoir cours.” Pierre Leroux, *La Grève de Samarez*, 1863, I, 255.

sense in which Foley seems to use it—as in speaking of “le noble drapeau du socialisme” and in his “conseils positivo-socialistes”—, for he was opposed to egalitarianism and to the redistribution of wealth by the state. Living for others and the creation of a society in which people would live for others were basic ideas shared by the two Saint-Simonian disciples, Enfantin and Comte. However, Foley always identified Comte with the preaching of altruism and, in his letters to Enfantin, signed off as “Foley D.M.P.”, docteur en médecine positiviste. Ideologically, however, Enfantin probably reinforced a number of concepts that Foley had already learnt from Comte. Foley talks of “le noble et délicat empressement que mettait le Père à me soutenir dans la voie du positivisme”,¹⁶⁰ which seems to indicate that a certain scientific rationalism was shared by both Comtean positivism and Enfantin’s Saint-Simonian socialism. However, Foley explicitly rejects Enfantin’s ideas when they are different from Comte’s.

Prosper Enfantin! s’écrieront les personnes qui sont au courant du positivisme. « Comment! vous, disciple d’Auguste Comte, avez-vous pu aimer et fréquenter ce chef d’une doctrine, si contraire à la vôtre? »¹⁶¹

Foley’s answer is to say that he was a friend, rather than a disciple, of Enfantin’s and that, in his private life, Enfantin was a man of infinite kindness who did not live out the more extreme views expressed in his theoretical writings, and in particular the abolition of the family and of property, which were ideas developed further by Fourier than by Enfantin. He certainly did not think highly of Enfantin’s writings which he describes as “trop vagues, pour qu’on puisse affirmer qu’il était pour ou contre quoi que ce soit”.¹⁶² For Foley, Enfantin is the intimate friend, not the public figure or “le chercheur, que son intelligence a si malheureusement conduit à se calomnier par ses propres écrits”.¹⁶³ In his *Peuple et bourgeoisie. Suite de cauchemars, songes et rêveries positivisto-socialistes*, published in 1870, there are again a number of specific reservations about Enfantin’s ideas and the practices of the Saint-Simonian movement that Enfantin led after Saint-Simon’s death in 1825.

On Enfantin’s concept of the equality of men and women, for example, Foley felt the need to point out that women, while not inferior to men, were psychologically

¹⁶⁰ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 249.

¹⁶¹ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 247.

¹⁶² Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 247.

¹⁶³ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 248.

different and socially dependent on men. Despite their high opinion of women, Comte and Foley still saw their role as being primarily that of a wife and mother in the home, while Enfantin and Fourier argued for their sexual and economic independence. Moreover, Enfantin's definition of God as everything that exists "se ressent évidemment de la trop forte illumination solaire de Damas".¹⁶⁴ Foley's religion remained Positivist and anti-metaphysical. For Comte, a particular Christian text could be used, provided that the word "God" was replaced by "Humanity", for Comte and Foley were atheists for whom religion, 'binding together' in its original meaning, meant the achieving of mental and social equilibrium and harmony.

After the suppression of workers' revolts in Paris and Lyon in the 1830s, Enfantin's Saint-Simonians, according to Foley, forgot the plight of individual workers and the need for social reform as they got onto the band-wagon of "industrialism" (which meant something like entrepreneurial activity rather than just productive work) and pursued their own material advantage. Foley, then, developed his idea that the Saint-Simonians lacked a moral dimension to their material progress. They "se lancèrent comme avait fait leur fondateur dans l'industrialisme, l'agiotage et, qui pis est, le jésuitisme financier".¹⁶⁵ This can easily be interpreted as a criticism of Enfantin, in particular, who is often seen as neglecting the need for political reform and as being involved in a range of risky business adventures. Even so, Foley allows that, among the Saint-Simonians, "plusieurs d'entre eux (leur fondateur, tout le premier, et le père Enfantin après, en payant de leur personne et de leur avoir) nous ont rendu le service immense de maintenir en vue de toute l'Europe le noble drapeau du socialisme."¹⁶⁶ Indeed, the main narrator of Foley's *Peuple et bourgeoisie* and its two sequels is, as Enfantin had been, a prisoner in Sainte-Pélagie prison, although the number of political prisoners sent there was so great that one cannot say that Foley had Enfantin in mind in creating this setting.

The 1860s, then, were marked, in Foley's life, by the adoption of this new father-figure and by a growing intellectual maturity as he sorted out his own mix of Positivist and "socialist" ideas, while remaining aware that they, too, could be criticised, an awareness that could well have been fostered by his lecturing. In the

¹⁶⁴ Foley, *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, 1879, p.102-3.

¹⁶⁵ Foley, *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, 1879, p.106.

¹⁶⁶ Foley, *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, 1879, p.109.

early 1860s, he not only presented a technical paper to the Cercle de la Presse Scientifique, but he also had the signal privilege of being invited to give weekly lectures in geography at the École polytechnique. It was the success, at least in his own eyes, of his lectures there that led to the publication of the first volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie* in 1866. Three of his published works are known to have started as lectures¹⁶⁷ and it is easy to see that he could have been quite an ebullient speaker. As early as 1857, he was talking of the need to be disciplined in his management of time and set aside between two and four hours per day for studying and writing outside of the hours taken up by his medical practice.¹⁶⁸ After his medical thesis and technical works on compressed air and on cholera, the expression of his ideas on human society really begins in 1866 with the first volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie*. He certainly sought to become involved in the intellectual debates of his day and a personal, arguably eccentric, mix of Positivist observations, socialist politics and elliptical poetic utterance characterises his published work between 1866 and 1882. The death of Foley's father and mother in 1867, along with the steady increase in the number of his own children (with the eighth and last child being born in 1869), may have helped Foley assume his own voice.

Foley's friendship with Félicie Guillaume continued after Enfantin's death. As well as Madame Guillaume being mentioned in glowing terms in *Quatre années en Océanie* (1866) and *Eki* (1874), a daughter of Foley's born in 1865 was given the name Félicie and Madame Guillaume's older son, Charles Auguste, witnessed the registration of this birth in 1865 and another in 1869.¹⁶⁹ By then, Madame Guillaume was living in Saint-Germain-en-Laye,¹⁷⁰ while her son Auguste was living in Paris and had a good position in the railways.

Foley's life in the 1860s was also marked by the mental illness and death of his long-term friend, Charles Meryon. Foley and Meryon had often discussed the possibility of using their experiences in the South Pacific as the subject of books and art works. At first it seemed possible that Meryon would provide art work for an official account of their voyage which Captain Bérard had discussed with the Minister of the

¹⁶⁷ The third was his 1880 lecture on race, which was published a year later.

¹⁶⁸ Foley to Comte, 25 April 1857 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁶⁹ Archives de la ville de Paris, 5 MI 3R/663, birth of Aurélie Félicie Rosalie Foley, 20 Feb 1865, 8th arrondissement; 5 MI 3R/669, birth of Suzanne Marie Jouvence Foley, 27 March 1869, 8th arrondissement.

¹⁷⁰ Sand, *Correspondance*, ed. Lubin, t.XXV, 1991, letter S994, pp.1077-8.

Navy immediately after the return of the *Rhin* to France. Nothing came of this, however.¹⁷¹ Outside of a scientific publication of this sort, choosing a New Zealand subject for a Parisian public for whom it meant nothing did not seem a good idea to Foley, and Meryon was inclined to agree with him:

Vous avez raison de me dire qu'un sujet Zélandais est déplacé à Paris; qu'il eut bien mieux valu traiter toute autre chose, plus en rapport avec ce que l'on sait et connaît ici. Je suppose en effet mon tableau plein de vérités historiques—qui les apprécierait? Qui me tiendrait compte de l'exactitude des physionomies, de celle des costumes? Personne évidemment puisqu'il y a nécessairement ici beaucoup d'individus qui ignorent à peu près ce qu'est la Nlle Zélande. Non; ne croyez pas que je puisse ne pas bien recevoir de pareilles observations.¹⁷²

One way of making New Zealand seem relevant to French people was to depict nineteenth-century Maori as revealing what it was like to be an inhabitant of ancient Gaul, since here were actual living people who seemed to share the characteristics normally associated with the Gauls. Describing the Maori would, in Foley's view, provide documents that would reveal to the French their own past, an argument that Meryon found convincing:

Supposez-vous que vous auriez beaucoup de peine à me convaincre que vous pensez juste, en prétendant retrouver dans les mœurs et allures des Nouveaux-Zélandais de grandes analogies, des documents précieux pour traiter les scènes des premiers habitants des Gaules? Quoique je n'aie jamais songé sérieusement à utiliser les souvenirs de notre ancienne station à une aussi grande matière, je vois avec un plaisir extrême vos idées à ce sujet.¹⁷³

The *Quatre années en Océanie*, while being an ethnographic analysis of the different races of the Pacific, was written within a Comtean view of history as a progressive evolution of the different races of humanity through the three stages of Comte's "loi des trois états": from the theological and military stage, through the metaphysical and legal one, to the scientific and industrial stage. Foley explains at what point in this evolution the different races were and how they had each been shaped by their particular environment. Within this historical framework, he never fails to reiterate that the Polynesians are very like Europeans, but at an earlier stage in their progress. This is a work that describes for European readers their relatively near past (Polynesians) and, perhaps, their much more distant past (Australian aborigines),

¹⁷¹ Ducros, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, items 107-8; Collins, *Charles Meryon, a Life*, 1999, pp.90-1.

¹⁷² Meryon to Foley, 29 April 1848 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 Rés., pièce 5).

¹⁷³ Meryon to Foley, 29 April 1848 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 Rés., pièce 5).

although the latter are seen as trapped in a hostile environment that was preventing them from evolving further.

Both the *Quatre années en Océanie* and *Eki*, Foley's two works that deal exclusively with the Pacific, were being thought about many years before their publication. There are clear indications in the Meryon-Foley correspondence that the two friends were intending to collaborate, as writer and artist, on a joint unofficial work about their experiences in the Pacific. As early as 1857, Meryon told Foley that it would be some time before he would have the time to complete the drawings and engravings that Foley wanted:

Ce n'est pas à dire pour cela que je renonce à ma collaboration dans votre ouvrage; seulement je vous dirai que j'aurais l'intention de mettre assez de soins, de précision, dans les dessins ou gravures que je pourrais faire pour vous, pour ne point pouvoir les exécuter dans un laps de temps trop court.¹⁷⁴

It seems quite credible, therefore, that at least some of Meryon's drawings of Pacific subjects were intended to be used in this enterprise. A few weeks later Meryon showed his continued interest in the work by sending Foley curios and sketches that he could find useful in writing about the Pacific:

Je vous expédie par le chemin de fer une caisse contenant ce que j'avais en tant de curiosités et de plus les dessins que j'ai faits pendant le cours de la campagne.—Je pense que vous verrez ces notes avec plaisir; elles pourront sans doute vous être utiles.¹⁷⁵

The correspondence between the two friends reveals some of the process involved in the writing of both the *Quatre années en Océanie* and *Eki*. Foley could, for example, use Pacific artefacts and Meryon's sketches of specific people, including Tikao and Toma-Kéké, as starting points for his writing.

In 1864, by which time Meryon's mental state had deteriorated, their relationship was going through a difficult phase and their collaboration on a work on the Pacific was threatened. In a long rambling letter to their former fellow officer on the *Rhin*, now Vice-Admiral Reynaud, Meryon talks of a sort of short story or novel called *Etaka* that Foley was wanting to publish.¹⁷⁶ It was, said Meryon, modelled on

¹⁷⁴ Meryon to Foley, 18 June 1857 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 Rés., pièce 31).

¹⁷⁵ Meryon to Foley, 4 July 1857 (BNF Estampes Yb³ 1673 Rés., pièce 32).

¹⁷⁶ Meryon to Admiral Reynaud, 8 Dec 1864 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Yb³ 1673 Res, pièce 42). See also Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, p.158.

Télémaque, an epic narrative written by Fénelon to inculcate the right values in the heir to Louis XIV's throne. Etaka, the name of a Chatham Island Maori who was captured by Captain Cécille in 1838 as part of his reprisals for the massacre of the crew of a French whaling ship, was a young Maori man who was taken to France by Cécille and then brought back to New Zealand in 1840 by Captain Lavaud on the *Aube*. He died in Akaroa in 1842 from a chest infection and Meryon and Foley are almost certain to have seen his grave in the Catholic church cemetery and heard his story. It seems likely, from Meryon's description of it as a didactic piece of short fiction, that *Etaka* was an early version of *Eki*, with its Mentor figure (Antoine) using Maori rather than Greek stories to educate an inexperienced young man (Édouard). If so, either Foley changed the name of his main character or else Meryon got the name wrong.

In his paranoia, Meryon saw *Etaka* as Foley's deliberate scuttling of their collaborative work. What Meryon had in mind was, as he indicated in other 1864 letters, the work that Bérard had been planning in 1846: an account of the voyage of the *Rhin* from 1842 until 1846, which he saw as raising issues that were still very relevant twenty years later. This publication "aura été pour ainsi dire, le but de la meilleure partie de ma vie."¹⁷⁷ Meryon engraved a title-page for this work in 1866, the year in which Foley published the first volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie*, a title which would seem to accord with Meryon's wishes, but the two men were not working together. The first volume of Foley's work has no Meryon illustrations but the second volume, published in 1876 after Meryon's death, contained "Tête d'un chien sauvage de l'Australie orientale, dessinée d'après l'eau-forte qu'en fit mon défunt ami Charles Meryon, ancien officier de marine" and "Papou australien oriental", also after Meryon, although this is not acknowledged in the text.¹⁷⁸

Another friend of Foley's in the late 1860s was the writer, Hippolyte Vattemare, who was a witness for the registering of the births of Foley's last two children in 1867 and 1869.¹⁷⁹ Vattemare was the translator of a large number of English works about travel to exotic climes (Africa, America, China, Indochina, Central Asia, the Arctic) and

¹⁷⁷ Meryon to Ministre de la Maison de l'Empereur et des Beaux-Arts, 22 Aug and 10 Nov 1864 (Archives Nationales, Paris, Fonds des Beaux-Arts F 21 98).

¹⁷⁸ *Quatre années en Océanie*, II, 362. The drawings are plate M on unnumbered pages at the end of the volume and an illustration facing p.370. See Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, facing p.8.

¹⁷⁹ Archives de la ville de Paris: Registres des actes de naissance, 1867, 1869 (5 Mi 3R/685, 5 Mi 3R/669).

the author of the “Vie et voyages” of James Cook, La Pérouse and various other explorers. The two men may well have shared their knowledge of non-European cultures.

Eki and *Quatre années en Océanie* were published between 1866 and 1876. During that same time, the end of the Second Empire under Napoleon III, the Franco-Prussian War and the setting up of the Third Republic provided the impetus for a new strain of very enthusiastic works as Foley thought that Comte’s Positivist ideas could now be applied to French society and institutions. The first of these, *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, was published in 1870 and is an immediate reaction to the political upheavals of the time, with references to the Franco-Prussian War that was going on as he wrote and the impending arrival of the Prussians in Paris. Foley believed that the time of political absolutism in France was past and that Positivism could now shape the future of French society.

His “conseils positivisto-socialistes”, expressed through a lively “suite de cauchemars, songes et rêveries” in works published in 1870, 1872 and 1879, and some *Feuilles positivistes* published in 1881 and 1882 are meant to be his contribution to the creation of the Third Republic. He is advocating a peaceful middle way that avoids the extremes of absolutism’s repression and revolution’s violence. He talks of plans to launch a periodical in support of these views, but these do not seem to have been brought to fruition. One section of the 1872 work takes the form of speeches and heckling at a political meeting of progressive thinkers in the working-class faubourg Saint-Antoine. As the date of the meeting is very precise—May 1871—, Foley is probably thinking of a particular meeting that he actually attended. There is every sign in all these works of a keen interest in contemporary politics and a desire to make Positivist doctrine the basis of a new liberal, industrial society and it may well be that he belonged to a specific political party and that its records would reveal another aspect of his life. All the same, the ideas he advances in the *Feuilles* are in dialogues between people of different points of view. Alongside a mouthpiece of Positivism, there are characters questioning Positivist views, ensuring that Comte’s excesses are avoided, though Foley’s strong support for universal (male) suffrage at this later stage of his career would have surprised his erstwhile master.

One may wonder whether these eccentrically written political works had many readers or any influence. When he left some free copies of his *Peuple et bourgeoisie* at the headquarters of the Société Positiviste in 1870, they were returned to him anonymously and without comment.¹⁸⁰ If the Society's leadership were not interested, it is hard to imagine who his readers would be, apart from individual Positivist friends, but his 1872 *Convention industrielle et libérale* was at least reviewed in Littré's rival Positivist periodical, *La Philosophie positive*.¹⁸¹ On the other hand, however, there are signs that Foley had social contacts with very prominent people. At the wedding of his youngest daughter in 1890, one of the witnesses who signed the register as the bride's friends was her cousin, Édouard Lockroy (1838-1913), the politician who would later be a Cabinet Minister. The other witness for the bride was France's leading architect, Antoine Nicolas Bailly (1810-1892), Member of the Institut de France and the Académie des Beaux-Arts, President of the Société des artistes français and of the Société des architectes, yet another brilliant and influential person closely connected to Foley.¹⁸² Foley was not writing in a political vacuum. Whatever their reception at the time, his political works are of historical interest as the reaction of an intelligent Comtean disciple to the issues of his time. In his old age the leaders of the Société Positiviste realised that he was a link with Comte himself, and were anxious to acquire his correspondence with Comte and other Positivist figures of the past.

Ethnography and anthropology are major focuses of his later life. He was accepted as a member of the Société d'anthropologie in Paris in 1875 and, by 1877, he was also a "membre correspondant" of the Société d'ethnographie, presenting a paper on Polynesia at its meeting on 3 December that year. The late 1870s and early 1880s saw not only the publication of the second volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie*, but an article in the *Revue orientale et américaine* and nine articles in the *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*. The latter also records his report on the society's collections and his numerous contributions to discussions at the fortnightly meetings which brought together an impressive array of scholars. He presented his first paper to them on 17 July 1879 and the last meeting he attended seems to have been on 6 May 1886, when some of his comments were recorded. His papers and

¹⁸⁰ Foley to Lonchampt, 21 Sept 1870 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁸¹ The review in vol. IX, p.302, was contributed by G. Wyruboff.

¹⁸² Archives départementales des Yvelines, Versailles: Andréys, Mariages 1890, #62 (2 Mi EC 19).

comments are mostly concerned with his 1840s experiences in the Pacific and particularly in New Caledonia and tropical Polynesia. His interactions with other scholars are very enlightening. He can be critical of people who record isolated facts without fitting them into some over-arching theory while other people can be critical of him for being “sectarian”: for using science to advance the Positivist cause, instead of being open to facts that might contradict its doctrines. A striking example of this is the way he found it difficult, in his sixties, to come to terms with recent medical research which undermined the whole basis of the medical knowledge that he had acquired twenty or thirty years earlier.

While writing these ethnographic and political works, Foley was continuing to practise as a doctor for a number of years in the eighth and ninth arrondissements of Paris, the area near the Opéra and the Gare Saint-Lazare. The Bottin street directory, letters and a legal document show that he was living and practising at 47 rue d’Amsterdam (1861), 54 rue d’Amsterdam (1862), 23 rue de Berlin (1865), 12 rue de Milan (1867-9), 10 place Delaborde (1869-72), and 5 rue Helder (1873-7).¹⁸³ The frequent changes of address suggest a rather precarious existence. As well as practising medicine, Foley continued to publish works on cholera and his 1855 thesis was followed by an article in a medical journal in 1866, a book-length study in 1870 that was republished in 1885, and a sequel to this in 1886. These last works bring together his ethnographic and his medical interests in a new synthesis that is “géographique et biologique, médicale et hygiénique, sociologique et morale”. Positivist explanations based on people’s interactions with their milieu, along with the psychosomatic approach—the interaction of mind/morale and body—that Foley shared with Comte, are still behind his analyses.

In 1878, Foley moved away from the quarter of Paris where he had been living for some seventeen years. He is to be found that year at 9 porte de Clichy, in the seventeenth arrondissement, and at 232 rue de Rivoli, in the second. A “thank you” to him in the acknowledgements of his nephew’s medical thesis, presented in 1880, indicates that the young man from Algiers had been welcomed and assisted by his Paris relations.¹⁸⁴ When publishing *Des trois grandes races humaines* in 1881, he still

¹⁸³ *Annuaire-Almanach du Commerce et de l’Industrie, ou Almanach des 1,500,000 adresses*, published yearly by Didot-Bottin; letters held by the Maison d’Auguste Comte.

¹⁸⁴ Edmond Antoine Foley, *Étude sur la statistique de la morgue 1851-1879*, 1880, is dedicated to the

gave the rue de Rivoli address and he continued to publish books until 1886. As that was also the year when he stopped attending the meetings of the Société d'anthropologie, there may well have been some deterioration in his health then which slowed him down. By 1890 he was living in retirement in "Denouval, commune d'Andrésy". In the late nineteenth century, Andrésy was a small village on the banks of the Seine, one hour by train from central Paris, and Foley lived there for the rest of his life.

In 1897, Foley turned 77 and he was having a number of health problems, as his wife Sara explains:

Il est bien triste de ne pouvoir écrire, sa santé est bonne mais il ne peut ni lire ni écrire et cette année il ne peut plus ni marcher ni même se tenir debout. Il est donc assis[,] à le voir on ne pense pas qu'il soit ainsi privé des mouvements. l'intelligence si belle chez lui est affaiblie mais existe toujours.¹⁸⁵

But he had resolutely kept his Positivist faith and was looking forward to seeing his Positivist friends again:

Il est, et a toujours été positiviste[,] s'il le pouvait il serait heureux d'assister à vos réunions et si vous pouvez venir le voir il pense au mois d'octobre prochain retourner passer l'hiver à Paris, et sera à même de recevoir ceux qui voudront le venir voir.¹⁸⁶

Even in 1901, just weeks before his death, he was getting Sara to send messages to the Positivists in similar vein:

avec tous ses regrets de ne pouvoir se rendre aux réunions où vous le conviez, envoie ses salutations cordiales et fraternelles aux membres de la réunion¹⁸⁷

Sara invited them to come and have lunch with them at Andrésy, but Foley died in Andrésy on 25 November 1901 at the house of his son Charles who lived in a very comfortable two-storeyed house at 6 rue de Chanteloup.¹⁸⁸ The witnesses who signed his death certificate were Charles, "homme de lettres" aged 40, and another son, Adolphe, "artiste-peintre", aged 34. Foley was 81 when he died after a full life as a

memory of his parents and to "M. le docteur Edouard Foley, à M. Bourdoux, à Mesdames Foley et Bourdoux, à mes amis".

¹⁸⁵ Sara Foley to Florez, 1 Feb 1897 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁸⁶ Sara Foley to Florez, 1 Feb 1897 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁸⁷ Sara Foley to Alfred Dubuisson, 4 Sept 1901 (Foley dossier, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

¹⁸⁸ Because of subdivisions, the house is now number 12.

naval officer, medical doctor, Positivist, writer, husband and father. On his tomb in the old Andrésy cemetery, where he lies buried in the same family plot as his wife and two of his children,¹⁸⁹ one finds the Positivist motto and the titles of which he was so proud:

Ordre et progrès
Antoine Edouard Foley
Elève de l'école Polytechnique
Lieutenant de vaisseau
docteur médecin
1820-1901

Interestingly, “écrivain” is not one of the labels ascribed to him.

¹⁸⁹ Sara Léontine Foley née Jullien, 1834-1904; Aurélie Félicie Rosalie Foley, 1865-1926; Charles Foley, 1861-1956, Homme de lettres.

EKI AND FOLEY'S OTHER WORKS

Foley came to writing fairly late in life. It was not until eight years after the publication of his medical thesis—after marriage, the birth of the first five of his eight children, and setting himself up as a general practitioner—that he started to publish regularly. From 1863 (when he was aged 43) until 1886 (when he turned 66) he published on average one book or article every year, and some of these publications were quite lengthy. *Eki* appeared partway through this sequence of works by a middle-aged man who had long been converted to the Positivist cause and was eager to be useful to society.

The names of the publishers and printers of his works indicate that he could command the respect of key figures in the booktrade. It was presumably his work as a doctor that led him to publish a number of his works through J-B. Baillière et fils, international publishers who specialised in medical and scientific works and who were the official booksellers for the Paris Faculté de Médecine. They still dominate French medical publishing today and their publication record in the nineteenth century shows that they were sympathetic to Positivism and that their interest in science extended to Comtean attempts to apply scientific methods to the study of human society.¹

A Foley work on Oceania was jointly put out by Baillière and J. Hetzel, the latter famous for his beautiful illustrated editions of Jules Verne's exotic works. Copies of this particular Foley work differ only in their title-pages which bear one or the other publisher's name. Another leading Paris firm to publish one of his works was Garnier frères, an enterprising and tough-minded company that was always looking for new formats and specialised in popular cheap collections, but these included political works which were not always appreciated by the establishment—the publication of a Proudhon work even resulted in them being sentenced to fines and

¹ They published a number of works by prominent Positivists, including Poey, *Le positivisme*, 1876; Littré, *De l'établissement de la Troisième République*, 1880; and Rigolage, *Résumé de la Philosophie positive d'Auguste Comte*, 2 vols, 1881.

imprisonment. Armand Chevalier (publisher of positivist Eugène Sémerie's 1870 *Positivistes et catholiques*²) and Albert Foulard also published some of Foley's works, while two were published by Foley himself. At the end of his publishing life, Foley returned to J-B. Baillière et fils.

The choice of publisher seems to have depended on whether a particular work was primarily scientific or imaginative, although these are not always easy categories to keep apart. The two works that do not bear a publisher's name—and one of them is *Eki*—may well have been turned down on commercial grounds, forcing Foley to publish them himself. The avant-propos of one of his early works talks of not wanting to spend three or four years writing a book which would be read by less than a hundred people.³ This is perhaps coy modesty, perhaps a flash of realism. *Des trois grandes races humaines*, an 1881 printed version of an 1880 lecture, was available at his home address but “est publiée avec le concours et par les soins de M. Charles Boyer, administrateur des Écoles libres laïques et gratuites du troisième arrondissement”. The lecture was given to support the good cause of free, secular education in Vincennes and clearly impressed M. Boyer.

Eight papers delivered at the Société d'anthropologie de Paris were published in the society's *Bulletin*, which again indicates a considerable degree of recognition, and by a reputable scientific organisation. To join the society, one needed to be nominated and accepted. Foley took a full part in the society's activities and his informal contributions to discussions were also published as part of the society's records. Another anthropological article was published in a similar type of periodical of good standing, the *Revue orientale et américaine*.

E. Brière was the printer of a medical journal which published an article by Foley in 1866. The same printer produced most of Foley's subsequent works, but some of his later works bear the name of other printers at Brière's Paris address of 257 rue Saint-Honoré. This may indicate changes in the ownership and name of the same printing firm. *Eki* bears no publisher's name but was printed by Brière.

There are three works by Foley which were advertised or mentioned in his correspondence but, if they were ever published, no copy of them has survived in a

² Paris: A. Le Chevalier, 1870.

³ *Quatre années en Océanie*, vol. 1, 1866, p.3.

major library. In 1858 he wrote to Auguste Comte's successor, Pierre Laffitte, about his current writing projects:

Je travaille à une réponse aux pamphlets de l'Inde et de Gibraltar. Son titre sera Alger. J'espère qu'elle sera terminée pour le 5 septembre prochain, car en ce moment j'ai pas mal de temps libre. Je travaille aussi à une sorte d'exposition du positivisme, et je ferai tous mes efforts pour qu'elle soit faite le 5 septembre 59.⁴

A small pamphlet or periodical article could have escaped my methodical searches but it is more certain that the substantial third volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie*, which was advertised in 1881-2 and was to study the people of New Caledonia and further explain Foley's views on race, did not go beyond its manuscript form, although his 1879 articles on New Caledonia in the *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie* were probably to be incorporated into it.

The authorship of two published works is, however, not completely certain. In Foley's *Feuilles positivistes et autres* (1881-1882), there are some "essais poétiques" which are attributed to a certain Antoine Denouval. In *Eki* Foley had divided himself into a mature, steady Dr Antoine and a younger, flighty Edouard. Is he now, in his *Feuilles positivistes et autres*, distinguishing between his scientific and poetic self, his 'positivist' side and his 'other' side? An earnest desire to be methodical and socially useful often coincides in his works with an offhandedness and a seemingly gratuitously elliptical style. The opening pages of *Eki* show that he was fully aware of this. What makes it very likely that Antoine Denouval was a nom-de-plume of Antoine Foley's is that, after retiring from practising medicine in Paris, he went to live in Denouval.⁵ It is true that Foley included a work by his fellow Positivist, Henri Lefèvre, in his *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, but there was no-one in Foley's entourage with the name Denouval and this is not a surname found in telephone directories of the Paris region today.

Foley's Denouval persona, with its carefree banter, is the very opposite of the earnest, socially committed, Positivist voice that dominates his other published work. Interestingly, it is much the same voice that is consistently found in the very considerable output of his son, Charles Foley (1861-1956) who began what was to be

⁴ Foley to Laffitte, 24 June 1858 (ms, Maison d'Auguste Comte).

⁵ His address was given as "Denouval, commune d'Andrézy" when a daughter was married in 1890 and it was in Andrézy that he died in 1901.

a long and successful writing career in 1883 with a monologue, *Le dimanche d'un bureaucrate*, just after the publication of the *Feuilles positivistes et autres*. However, it seems extremely unlikely that Antoine Denouval was the nom-de-plume of Charles, whom his father was perhaps encouraging to write. A further work, *Contes salés*, was published in 1884 under the name of Antoine de Nouval, with a slightly changed spelling of the author's name. Its tone is consistent with the light banter of the "essais poétiques"—and of Charles's stories, but by this time Charles had begun to publish under his own name, making his authorship of the *Contes salés* even less likely. The continued use of the first name, Antoine, supports the view that Antoine is, once again, an alter ego of Antoine Edouard Foley. This would mean that the *Contes salés* of Antoine de Nouval should also be included in the works of Antoine Edouard Foley, along with the "essais poétiques" in his *Feuilles positivistes et autres*. Nouval may very well also be a play on the word 'nouveau', a new or other Antoine. To avoid repeating all the necessary caveats each time, I shall be assuming henceforth that Antoine de Nouval is simply a nom-de-plume for Antoine Edouard Foley, even though this is highly likely rather than certain.

When he started to write, Foley felt that he had at long last acquired some certain knowledge that he wished to impart to the world. There were three main topics he wished to deal with. The first of these was medical. His 1855 medical thesis was on the subject of cholera, which he saw as a major threat to mankind. Cholera would also be the focus of a number of other works, including his last publication, in 1886. An 1866 article offers practical advice on how to treat cholera, but works that are ostensibly about cholera can actually venture into other territory. This is because Foley was very interested in social sciences as well as medicine.

His second interest could be called anthropology. Having travelled around the world and seen different races and cultures at first hand, he proceeded to explore and promulgate general notions about what made the peoples of the world both similar and different. He used his medical and scientific training, as well as his reading of Positivist and other writers, to give a fairly typical nineteenth-century explanation of race. Anthropology allowed him to specify the factors that advanced or obstructed human progress and to examine the different ways that society could be organised.

Foley's third interest was politics, although sometimes sociology might seem a more

suitable label. Foley lived at a time when France had relatively recently been through the trauma of the French Revolution and this was at the back of his and everyone else's mind as France went through a series of different regimes in the course of the nineteenth century. Foley took up a clear position in the debate about the sort of political regime that France should have, and in *Eki* he cited 'revolutionarism' and cholera as the two major threats to the modern world.

Dialogue, ellipsis and a strange mixture of the ordered and the gratuitous, of the high-flown and the self-deprecatory are fairly constant features of Foley's work. They are a feature of his medical studies as well as his political and anthropological treatises, his fiction, drama and poetry. There are strong links between all his works, whatever their subject and an understanding of *Eki* is enhanced by a knowledge of all his other works.

Étude à propos du choléra-morbus (1855)

His doctoral thesis for the Faculté de Médecine in Paris states very clearly that this is the work of a former naval officer who has seen the world, not just of a student studying at a university: "Ici je vais faire usage de ce que j'ai appris, non dans les livres, mais par mes propres sensations, quand je servais sous les ordres sages et paternels de l'amiral Bérard et du commandant Reynaud."⁶ His explanations of the influence of climate and milieu on the physical constitutions of different peoples make the thesis as much anthropological as medical, even if the anthropological observations are meant to serve medical ends:

Donc dans les pays peu avancés, il faut tenir compte du milieu inorganique, et par suite du tégument externe qu'il influence directement, pour comprendre l'étiologie des maladies; et dans ceux qui sont très-civilisés, à côté des influences climatiques, on doit placer la considération très-attentive des formes et du développement social.⁷

This leads to long descriptions of the milieu and life-style of the inhabitants of island Polynesia who do not suffer from cholera whereas those living in tropical Africa do, for he was trying to isolate the circumstances in which cholera flourished. Foley was, of course, writing at a time when it had not yet been proved that microbes could cause diseases. Robert Koch would not isolate the specific cholera bacterium, *Vibrio*

⁶ *Étude à propos du choléra-morbus*, thesis, 1855, p.13.

⁷ *Étude à propos du choléra-morbus*, thesis, 1855, p.13.

cholerae, until 1876 and it was not until the 1890s that the germ theory of contagion was universally accepted by the scientific and medical communities.⁸ Although his views on cholera seem strange to us today, they conformed to the mainstream medical views of his time.⁹

Island Polynesia is seen in a largely positive light in Foley's thesis. A Polynesian lives "dans les délicieux parages intertropicaux de l'océan Pacifique" (13). "Il traverse la série de ses âges avec une régularité parfaite, mais aussi avec une vitesse extrême. ... Ainsi s'écoule rapidement la vie des Polynésiens matériellement heureux" (14). An idyllic climate on islands surrounded by the sea along with a stress-free lifestyle protect Polynesians from cholera, whereas the climatic extremes of Africa and the stressful life of European cities make their inhabitants more likely to suffer from it. On the negative side, Polynesians are seen as having a short lifespan and as leading a purely material life with little mental or nervous stimulation, but there is no mention of New Zealand Maori in the thesis. The inhabitants of island Polynesia are used to supply counter-examples in an exploration of "les causes prédisposantes" (18) of cholera and it is clear that Foley has very positive memories of the years he spent in the Pacific.

Du travail dans l'air comprimé (1863)

Foley's second work, *Du travail dans l'air comprimé. Étude médicale, hygiénique et biologique*,¹⁰ a study of what happens to the human body (and to fish, pigeons and plants that he had taken with him) when it is subjected to very high pressures under water, is unique in not fitting into the cholera-anthropology-politics nexus of all his other works. It is the careful description of experiments he conducted on himself under pressures of up to 3.4 atmospheres and for varying lengths of time. He concludes that decompression chambers are necessary when one has been subjected to excessive pressures and that these chambers could have other medical applications as well. Foley cites many previous studies that he has consulted, shows considerable courage and proves that he can be a methodical scientist providing useful information. He acknowledges an idea that he got from Enfantin (75), but he says nothing about New Zealand or Oceania and does not let his imagination loose in

⁸ Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary France*, 1996, p.14.

⁹ Delaporte, *Disease and Civilization: the Cholera in Paris, 1832*, 1986, passim.

¹⁰ Paris, Londres, New York, Madrid: J-B Baillière et fils, 1863, viii-136p.

flights of fancy. It is an impressive scientific report written for a public works engineer, Mr A. Castor, and was intended to be for the benefit of people who encountered high pressure in their work. Like all his works, it was seen by Foley as part of his public duty as a doctor and a scientist.

“Deux mots sur le choléra et les premiers soins qu’il réclame” (1866)

This is a short article published in the *Journal des connaissances médicales pratiques et de pharmacologie* in 1866. After three pages of specific technical advice on what a doctor should do when he encounters a patient with cholera, Foley adopts for the first time a technique which he had learned from Comte and which he was to use extensively in later works: a question and answer dialogue. Comte typically had a learned male instructing an admiring female neophyte. Foley (who had considerable respect for his wife’s intellect) in this instance is more matter-of-fact, even if the dialogue still involves a teacher and a learner:

- Combien de temps faut-il que le malade sue?
- Douze heures au moins. Cette année-ci et l’an dernier j’ai toujours prolongé la transpiration durant quinze, dix-huit et vingt-quatre heures, au très-grand avantage de mes clients. [...]
- Comment soulager les crampes?
- En étendant les doigts, mains, pieds, jambes ou bras, tout doucement, et en sens contraire de la flexion qu’ils ont prise.

Foley risked his life caring for the desperately sick in Paris, but, as well as helping guide society to a Positivist future through his work as a doctor, he also wanted to convince other people through his writing that this was the course to follow. Dialogue was a pedagogical technique that he applied in a number of different situations. In *Eki*, there will be many extended dialogues between the heroine, Eki, and the Frenchmen whom she will be instructing in the history and lore of the Maori.

***Quatre années en Océanie, I* (1866)**

The first volume of *Quatre années en Océanie* was published in 1866.¹¹ In subject matter it is clearly close to *Eki*, but it is an anthropological treatise, not a work of fiction. Foley had been invited to give weekly geography lectures at the prestigious École polytechnique where he had once studied himself and he was so encouraged

¹¹ *Quatre années en Océanie*, [vol. 1]. Paris: J. Hetzel / J-B Baillière et fils, 1866, 300p.

by the reception given to his ideas by the students that he eventually expanded on his lecture notes and produced this book. He was combining his experience of the societies he had encountered in the Pacific with Comtean views on human progress. With the passing of time, his memories of Oceania—and this had happened with his friend Meryon as well—had created an idyllic past that remained with him and sustained him in his busy and often frustrating life in Paris:

Pendant que j'étais en Océanie, ma vie a coulé si douce, auprès de ce qu'elle avait été, si riche et si belle, auprès de ce qu'elle devait longtemps être, qu'entraîné par un charme irrésistible, ma pensée, durant le cours de mes études médicales, se retournait vers les parages polynésiens dès que mon cerveau répugnait à un travail trop pénible et surtout trop solitaire. (1)

In Foley's Comtean view of human history, the Polynesians represented European life and values as they were some 2000 years earlier. Going to Oceania had allowed Foley to see, at first hand, Europe's past and to travel, as it were, through time. This allowed him, his students and his readers to see how modern Europeans had progressed and indicated that there was an ongoing improvement that would lead inexorably to even greater things in the future. At his lectures, Foley had the opportunity to

mettre sous leurs yeux chacun des termes de la progression sociale [...] que parcourent, de l'autre côté de la terre, les hommes qui suivent [...] la marche qu'ont suivie nos aïeux ... De leur apprendre, par les images de ce qu'étaient nos ancêtres, ce que seront nos descendants [...] afin qu'ils aident la marche ascendante de notre espèce" (4-5)

Just as the individual human progresses from helpless babyhood through active maturity to contemplative old age, the human species for Foley was going through the same evolution from brutes to angels: "quelles brutes nous sommes au début de la vie ... et quels anges nous pouvons être avant la mort" (4).

A basic tenet of Foley's anthropological theories is that people—like plants and animals—are fashioned by their environment. They are part of a total ecosystem, such as "le grand tourbillon pacifique austral" (45) that he describes before looking at any species in particular. Although people all belong to the same species, different cultures are the result of reactions to different milieux. Climates can be harsh or benign, topography can isolate small groups of people or bring them together in large groups. Living in a desert requires you to consume all your energy in a fight for mere

survival whereas a temperate climate allows you to grow and hunt food easily, leaving you time to develop social and mental skills. Isolated communities in valleys surrounded by mountains or on islands surrounded by oceans develop individualism, instead of servility and despotism.

While declaring immediately that skin colour is a very superficial sign of difference within mankind and that his classification system is very rough and ready, Foley does use colour to distinguish between what he calls the black, yellow and white races of the world, but simply for convenience's sake, he says (139), and with deliberate exaggeration (135), for he sees racism as dangerous and believes that Europeans should be grateful for the past contributions of other races to European progress. He associates each colour with one of the three components that make up every human being. Firstly, there are the non-voluntary functions of the body, which he calls the 'vegetable' aspects of people. Like vegetables, we are alive, we react to sunlight and our bodies process what we absorb. Secondly, there are the voluntary functions of the body, the life of action as we work or fight. Thirdly, there is the life of the mind, of abstraction, morality and aesthetics. The 'black' people of Australia and tropical Africa are, according to Foley, prevented by their harsh environment from developing beyond the vegetable stage: they spend all their time finding food, seeking shelter and reproducing themselves, and their social and mental lives are forcibly very limited (146). Europeans should, however, be grateful to them for domesticating animals and plants and for the concept of superhuman providential beings. The lives of the 'yellow' people of Asia and the 'coloured' people of America and Melanesia are focused on physical activity and they toil blindly within despotic societies. The 'white' people of Europe and Polynesia live in a very favourable environment that has allowed them to develop their intellectual lives and achieve a certain freedom.

Widely read though he was, Foley still strikes the reader of the twenty-first century as basing his generalisations on a very limited knowledge of the different cultures of the world. He is, however, aware that, at best, these are statistical truths that he is enunciating and that within European societies, for example, there are people who are more 'vegetable' or 'animal' or 'mental'. Some people lead physically active lives while others are thinkers. He sees men as more likely to devote their lives to

physical activity while women, for Foley, are seen as having certain moral and mental qualities, and in particular kindness and angelicness (235). Each individual also starts off as a ‘vegetable’ baby, becomes an ‘active’ adult and then moves on to ‘meditative’ old age. It is Foley’s strong belief that the ‘white’ races of Europe and Polynesia have progressed the furthest and point to where the future of humanity lies.

A key characteristic that he finds in Polynesians is their individualism, the result of living on small islands or, in the case of New Zealand, on larger islands where communication is difficult because of the topography and impenetrable forests. ‘White’ people are feisty, not servile, and, in fighting against despotism, they have developed their martial skills. They are also seen as having a curious mixture of moral qualities. Compared to the ‘black’ and ‘yellow’ races, they are “courageux, destructeurs, vaniteux et bons” (205). Excusing their cannibalism, which was also a feature of early Europe, and ignoring the existence of slavery, a feature of a much more recent Europe, Foley sees Polynesians as kind (protecting the weak through tapu), as valuing the spiritual over the material, as effectively—if recently—outlawing warfare and as a society in which everyone can have a say and where people of merit can achieve high rank (212-3).

Les Polynésiens (dispensés, par la douceur et la fertilité de leur climat, de toute activité végétative ou animale un peu fatigante) se sont lancés d’eux-mêmes dans le domaine de l’abstraction; et sont arrivés de travail en travail et de conséquence en conséquence, à ces deux résultats caractéristiques: 1° d’être blancs, malgré le soleil tropical qui les surplombe; et 2° d’être plus épris de la supériorité spirituelle que de la puissance matérielle; malgré l’ant[h]ropophagisme qui entache encore leurs mœurs et plusieurs de leurs institutions. (245)

The development of the arts, which appeal to humankind’s highest faculties, is a feature of the most advanced societies. At the end of the book (263-96), Foley includes his own translations of several chapters of George Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology*, which was first published in Maori in 1854 and then in English in 1855. These illustrate the complexity of Polynesian thought and the appreciation of beauty in “les plus naïves légendes et les plus touchantes histoires d’amour” in which “ils s’encouragent (même enfants) à la plus pure morale, tout en mangeant de la chair humaine” (242). “Travailler, pour beaucoup récolter; augmenter son avoir, pour beaucoup donner; nourrir beaucoup de monde, pour beaucoup étendre la paix” (382) is the sort of “pure morale” which could have been advocated by a French Positivist

as well as by Maui's brothers, even if these views are not really compatible with the portrayal of carefree, short-lived Polynesians in his doctoral thesis. The reading of Grey's collection of myths seems to have been important in opening his eyes to the complex literary and religious culture of Polynesian people. When Foley at one point includes within "la seconde variante humaine", the so-called 'yellow race', those who inhabit "[e]n Océanie, les îlots volcano-madréporiques, le pourtour des lagunes sous-tropicaux et les plaines de fougère de la Nouvelle-Zélande" (156), his thinking seems confused, unless he is trying to distinguish between the physical focus of the lives of Polynesians living in these (diverse) environments and the more spiritual lives of other Polynesians in different environments. At best, he is not making himself clear. This would seem to be simply the result of the arbitrariness and oversimplification in Foley's three racial categories of which examples can be found everywhere.

Tou-Mata-Uenga, who will play a major role in *Eki*, is an important character in the first story that Foley translates from Grey, "Les enfants du ciel et de la terre, ou la création du monde". Among the sons of Rangi (Father/Sky) and Papa (Mother/Earth), he is the one who represents mankind, whereas others represent the air, the sea, the forest, domesticated or wild plants. Tou-Mata-Uenga is prototypical man who stands up proudly on his mother, the Earth. He has tamed all but one of his brothers and has brought to mankind the knowledge of how they should live: "charmes", "préceptes et tabous" (275-6). The second story is about the "demi-dieu" Maui. But Foley limits himself to recounting Maui's childhood, promising that "en lieu convenable, je donnerai cette histoire au complet" (283). Maui will reappear in *Eki* in a myth that explains the origin of Banks Peninsula, but Foley never published the whole of the myth of Maui as told by Grey. "L'art de faire le nœud de maille" is a story about fishing that can be compared with the description of Maori curing eels at Little River in *Eki* and "Les amours de Taka-Rangui et de Rahou-Mahora" provides a possible model for Foley's story of the love of Eki and Akaroa. However, although it does contain a myth, *Eki* is not an attempt to reproduce Maori mythology. Its aims are more diverse, as we shall see, but the rhythms of Grey's translations will be reproduced in *Eki*. The breathless exclamations of Maui

L'Océan m'a bercé! ... Les algues m'ont servi de natte! ... Les vagues m'ont donné forme humaine! ... Le sable et le frai du poisson m'ont confectionné

un abri!” (281)

will be echoed in a work of fiction that aims to reproduce a Maori view of the world.

The ‘white’ people of Oceania would seem to fit neatly into Foley’s providential view of the history of mankind, where philanthropic people work to “emparadiser la terre, améliorer tous nos auxiliaires bénévoles et angéliser l’homme” (234), although he sees momentary lapses in this progression, including Europe’s nineteenth-century decline from republicanism back into spiritual and political despotism (186), and from individualism to a highly regulated society in which the individual is a mere cog in a large machine (187). Including counter-arguments to his overall thesis is a feature of Foley’s work. In this first volume of *Quatre années en Océanie*, there is a post-scriptum (247-60) in which Foley dialogues with a blunt if kindly Prosper Enfantin. (This suggests that this book is really dedicated to Enfantin, while *Eki* is overtly dedicated to Enfantin’s ‘compagne’.) Enfantin questions Foley’s optimistic view of humanity’s future, criticises his facile division of complex humanity into three groups, and his rather heavy-handed pedagogical style. And Enfantin smiles at Foley’s enthusiasm as Foley tries to defend himself: “Brrrou! ... le voilà reparti!!” (258) Foley is clearly aware that he can be seen as an unrealistic enthusiast.

Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous (1870)

Foley’s next published work was printed by E. Brière in 1870 with the sub-title, *Nouvelle étude géographique et biologique, médicale et hygiénique, sociologique et morale*, showing that it has more than medical pretensions. The Franco-Prussian War (with hostilities beginning on 1 August) interrupted this work’s publication, and the book ends in mid-sentence on p.144. It will be printed in full (159 pages) fifteen years later when it will be published by J-B. Baillière et fils, with a post-scriptum explaining its interrupted publication history. A second part will appear in 1886. Foley’s scientific training and his Positivist beliefs have led him to dismiss invisible angels, miasmas and germs as possible causes of cholera. Instead the disease is seen in terms of the relationships of body parts to each other and to their surroundings and it is on scientific grounds that he rejects the work of scientists, like Pasteur and Koch, who were working on a new explanation of disease:

Il ne faut pas plus accuser Allah, Bramah, Boudah, ou un quelconque de leurs

très-nombreux serviteurs de nous avoir expédié les fléaux [...] qu'il ne faut croire aux germes, miasmes et ferments avec lesquels, depuis trente ans et plus, on tâche d'expliquer, ou mieux, on empêche de comprendre le choléra. (5)

Instead of blaming the gods, Foley details the early signs of cholera, provides practical measures that should be taken when someone falls ill, examines what precisely happens to the human body when it is suffering from cholera or dies from cholera, and describes the atmospheric conditions that seem to favour an outbreak. In the rather overblown language that Foley both enjoys and mocks, the 'triple aim' of this book is to "faire connaître les phénomènes cosmo-préparateurs du choléra, ses prodromes organiques, et les moyens hygiéniques les plus aptes à prévenir son explosion" (136). He explains that the second part of this book will go on to show how we catch cholera when our body is subjected to extreme contradictory forces. He does not claim that he has all the answers and is simply advancing "une théorie qu'on pourra critiquer, tout aussi bien qu'une autre peut-être" (6), but it seems logical and scientific in the current state of knowledge. And just as his anthropological works study people in all climes, this one looks at outbreaks of cholera in different times and places. As the quotation from Comte says on the title-page, "Tout est relatif, voilà le seul principe absolu". The theological and political absolutism of the past must give way to scientific inquiry, and fairies and "entités médicales pérégrinantes" (6) must cede to physical observations.

Peuple et bourgeoisie (1870)

The same year, 1870, that was marked by the fall of the Second Empire and the declaration of the Third Republic, saw the publication of *Peuple et bourgeoisie. Suite de cauchemars, songes et rêveries positivisto-socialistes*.¹² There are indications in the text that it was being written in August and September 1870 as the Prussian army was invading France. There is a feeling that major political change was imminent and that nineteenth-century intellectuals were in the same position as the Encyclopédistes prior to the French Revolution: their task was to provide a blueprint for a new society. "Dr A.-E. F." is said to be the "éditeur responsable", authorised by the narrator to publish this series of 'letters'. Foley's full name will only appear in a second edition which was published, with additions and changes, as part of a longer

¹² Paris: Garnier frères, 134pp.

work in 1879.¹³ This is not unlike Foley's position in *Eki*, where he is not overtly the author.

The narrator and fictional writer of the letters is an anonymous prisoner in the Sainte-Pélagie prison in Paris. This was where political prisoners, including writers, were sent and Enfantin spent a year there in 1832-33. The situation of the narrator could also be at least partly inspired by Foley's recent visits to see his friend, Charles Meryon, at the Maison Impériale de Santé de Charenton. Meryon's second prolonged stay at Charenton was from 1866 until his death there in 1868 and Foley was very aware of his friend's delusions. Meryon had sometimes seen himself as Christ, and believed that he was being persecuted by Napoleon III, who, he thought, had killed Saint-Louis. This fits in with the famous historical and mythical figures who appear in the dreams of the narrator of *Peuple et bourgeoisie*.

The 1870 text is divided into sections which are not called letters or chapters but 'nuits'. In the first eight of these, the narrator recounts the strange dreams he has during successive nights. However, the ninth and tenth nights bring in other material which does not fit in particularly well with the organic structure that has been unfolding. The narrator/prisoner has become so delirious that he cannot deliver his account of the ninth night and, instead, sends in texts written by someone else. So the "neuvième nuit" is actually the text of a letter written a few years earlier by Foley's friend and fellow Positivist, Henry Lefèvre, in reply to an attack on Positivism and atheism made by Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans in *L'athéisme et le péril social* (1866). The "dixième nuit" is a similar sort of topical political piece, a letter dated 1 September 1870, which is a response by the Positivist, Dr Y.Z., to the Prussian army officer, Colonel Friedrich Von Hoestein, who was justifying the Prussian invasion of France. One can only assume that the clearly fictional initials Y.Z. are a cover for Foley himself and a counterpart to another character, the Positivist A+B, who plays a major role in the first eight 'nights'.

When the narrator/prisoner goes to sleep, he sees two people in his dreams: the Positivist, Maître A+B, and the sceptical rebel against absolutism, Lucifer. A+B is presented as a compulsive writer wanting to explain the political consequences of

¹³ Page references will generally be to this second edition, *Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise* (Paris: the author, 1879).

Positivist thought. The age of political and religious absolutism is over. A+B believes that it is possible to avoid the extreme solutions of the revolutionary and reactionary parties, and to create a peaceful industrial society in which the workers and the middle classes (“le peuple et la bourgeoisie” of the title) each play their appropriate and complementary part, along with the intellectuals like himself. He is opposed to the egalitarianism associated with many revolutionaries, and believes that the middle classes should be the leaders of this new society, a society based on the demonstrable scientific truths of Positivism which everyone can agree on, not on the old metaphysical doctrines which, as history has shown, inevitably lead to disagreement and despotism.

Intellectuals have mental skills to contribute to society and workers have manual skills, but it is the middle class that combines these two aptitudes and has the financial resources to get things done while intellectuals dream and workers see no further than the task they are engaged upon (1879: 55, 78). A+B sees mutual dependence in a peaceful society replacing the fear, blind obedience and autocracy of the past. Workers will be grateful to their employers for giving them paid work that will enable them to look after themselves and their dependents (1879: 88), but middle-class employers have an obligation to see that their profits are shared:

en toute affaire industrielle, une fois les frais généraux mis à part et la vie de chacun assurée, les bénéfices doivent se répartir par tiers égaux entre l'ensemble des inventeurs, l'ensemble des administrateurs et l'ensemble des ouvriers. (1879: 50)

It is accepted that the more numerous workers will receive less, individually, than the smaller number of employers. And workers must be educated (‘helped to evolve’) if there are not to be a continuing succession of revolutions (1870: 112). The “conciliation et réconciliation” which appears on the title-page refers to the relations among workers, the middle class and intellectuals (1879: 46). Foley is wanting to find a reasonable middle way between violent revolution and political absolutism.

Lucifer prevents A+B from making this an earnest methodical treatise. It is a “duel sceptico-positiviste” (1879: 61), in which Lucifer, the sceptic, the first to rebel against God, shows no respect for A+B’s Positivism and can be scathing, ironic and telling in his constant questioning and criticism. He suggests, for example, that the divisions that have torn the Positivists apart after Comte’s death were the result of

inconsistencies in Comte's ideas (1879: 23) and is sceptical of A+B's view that the middle classes have the common welfare at heart. In Lucifer's view, they are selfishly seeking personal gain (1879: 57) and he asks A+B whether he would use force to impose his ideas if persuasion is not effective (1879: 31). He sees recent history as an alternation of progressive and reactionary regimes, not as progress towards some future paradise on earth: "Je constate un fait, comme Galilée: «La terre tourne et l'humanité fait comme elle.»" (1879: 38). He accuses Positivists of being heartlessly mathematical and says that "au grand jamais je n'aiderai la science à gouverner géométriquement les hommes" (1879: 60). A+B is given some difficult questions to answer. He sees Lucifer as helpful in his search for the truth and, through his critical spirit, an integral part of Positivism: "en te faisant l'écho scrupuleusement fidèle de toutes les objections et quolibets qu'on décoche à notre doctrine, ne nous aides-tu pas à éviter le ridicule, en restant dans le juste milieu?" (1879: 27)

Lucifer also deflates any pretentiousness on A+B's part. He laughs at A+B's euphemisms:

Eh bien! messieurs du positivisme, [...] en nommant praticiens ceux que j'aurais tout bêtement appelés riches (et non, comme vous dites si faussement, je ne sais où, détenteurs privés du capital public ... dont ils ne se privent guère). (1879: 56)

He regularly mocks Positivist jargon: "Ainsi, dans votre organisation sociocratico-positiviste (que le bon Dieu vous bénisse, vous et vos mots positivement inarticulables)" (1879: 53-4) and brings A+B down to earth when he resorts to abstract generalisations (1879: 99). The dialogue can be very lively, impulsive and unpredictable, justifying the label "cauchemar positiviste" (1879: 5).

The work refers to Polynesians as part of an argument to show that metaphysical and theological questions belong to a former age. Lucifer asks A+B who made the world. A+B replies that "Les prêtres d'Europe affirment que c'est Dieu. Ceux de Polynésie disent que c'est le ciel et la terre" (1879: 7). No one, including A+B and Lucifer, can provide a convincing answer to metaphysical questions. The plurality and arbitrariness of religious belief contrast with the certainty and uniqueness of science while Positivism's scientific study of man and society is said to provide answers that everyone can agree on.

The character A+B will reappear in *Eki*, but his function will change from narrator to narratee. Letters from Antoine and Édouard to Maître A+B appear at the beginning of *Eki*, and the subsequent narrative is sent to him. It is clear from *Peuple et bourgeoisie* that A+B is a Positivist intellectual and writer created in the imagination of the narrator. He talks about Auguste Comte as the founder of Positivism, so he is not Comte himself, and would seem to be, once again, an aspect of Foley's own personality, Foley as Positivist writer. The name can be seen as a potentially ironic caricature of Positivism as something that translates the complexities of human life into mathematics, an example of Lucifer's criticism of the Positivist as "cet algébriqueur de toute existence publique et privée, [...] cet arithmétiqueur de passion et de génie humain!" (1879: 60)

Foley's views on a number of matters that will figure in *Eki* are expounded at some length in the dialogues between A+B and Lucifer. A+B explains the difference between a savage and a civilised person, for example. The savage "ne dépend absolument que de son milieu et de ses plus grossiers instincts" (1879: 47), while the civilised person uses his higher faculties and an altruistic ethic to shape his own environment and create a better future. As Foley often identifies Polynesians with Europeans of a previous age, it is interesting to see him picturing French people as ridding themselves, at the time of the French Revolution, of the aristocrats of the sword and the altar, supporters of military autocracy and religious absolutism, thereby leaving a people of workers and bourgeois whom he sees as "les petits-fils des vaincus gallo-romains, la très-nombreuse postérité des derniers fidèles du paganisme" (1879: 68). Nineteenth-century French people and Foley's Polynesians are linked to a pagan European past, both are seen as individualistic and striving for a better, kinder future.

The view that Danton embodied what was best in the French Revolution is a feature of *Peuple et bourgeoisie* as well as of *Eki*, and some of the reasoning behind this view is given in the earlier work where A+B is examining the role of the bourgeoisie in the revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848. At the time of the French Revolution, Comte's comprehensive scientific ideas on how society works were not yet available, and so the Revolutionaries had to rely on the 'incomplete' doctrines of Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot. For Foley, Voltaire was against religious absolutism but he

compromised over political autocracy. This was the course followed in the early years of the Revolution when Louis XVI was still given a right of veto. Rousseau, on the other hand, compromised with religious absolutism, preferring deism to atheism, but he went too far in his opposition to political absolutism, calling for utopian egalitarianism and a return to ‘natural man’ and moral purity. This produced two Rousseauist factions among the Revolutionaries, Marat “l’égalitaire d’en bas” and Robespierre “l’égalitaire d’en haut” (1879: 75), and led to the Terror. Diderot and his fellow Encyclopedists were atheists, republicans, altruists and people of good sense (1879: 70, 72-3, 76). Danton and the Jacobins represented this pragmatic strand of Enlightenment thinking but they could not combat the utopian propaganda of Robespierre.

Between the seventh and eighth nights, Foley has included a “Prospectus” for a periodical that he would like to write and which would have the same title of *Peuple et bourgeoisie*. It would be devoted to exploring constructive, peaceful ways in which the working class and the middle class could work together and avoid the violence of the past. Although the revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848 had been followed by a return to absolutism because the forces of reaction were better disciplined (“le monde théocratique et militaire est discipliné, tandis que son antagoniste industriel et libéral ne l’est pas”, 1879: 85) and modern progressive thought rejects blind obedience, he sees a much more cohesive republican society evolving that will have the organisation that will allow it to survive and prosper. However, even if he sees militarism as belonging to the past and looks to a peaceful future, France is faced in 1870 with the immediate problem of invasion by the Prussians. The dream of a “convention industrielle et libérale” must be suspended and every effort put into the defence of the “patrie” (1879: 92). This explains why the book was hurriedly finished, with the projected ninth dream being replaced by Lefèvre’s letter explaining to Bishop Dupanloup that Catholicism had had its day, even though Positivists remained grateful to it for its past contribution to human progress. It also explains the tenth ‘night’, Dr Y.Z.’s letter to the Prussian colonel denouncing war. France, he writes,

n’a jamais cessé non plus de chercher (et pour elle et pour vous qui l’avez tant troublée) le passage qui doit nous mener tous, de la civilisation féodale théocratique et belligérante, au régime libéral industriel et pacifique, seul

capable de prévenir des orgies comme celle qui déshonore en ce moment même votre pays et le nôtre. (1879: 132)

Dr Y.Z. links war with a belief in supernatural gods: “nous ne voulons plus croire à ce dieu terrible des batailles qui nous délaisse. Car il n’est plus, pour nous, qu’un vieux Saturne édenté, qui se réjouit encore de voir ses fils s’entr’égorgés, ne pouvant plus les dévorer lui-même. Colonel, notre dieu, à nous qui n’aimons plus que le travail; c’est l’humanité.” (1879: 133) The role of warfare will be central to *Eki*.

*La Convention industrielle et libérale (1872)*¹⁴

A character called Ego sends the text to his dear friend the doctor (Foleÿ), continuing the convention that Foleÿ’s role was simply that of arranging for the text’s publication. Ego and Lucifer have gone to listen to a series of speeches given by A+B between March and May 1871 at a progressive political club in the faubourg Saint-Antoine where the meetings are chaired by “le picopo de Korororéka”, that is, Bishop Pompallier.¹⁵ A+B is looking at the various political options current at the time, in an attempt to find what is best and on which some sort of consensus could be reached. Politics, for A+B, is seen in terms of political and religious absolutism on the one hand, which imposes its will through force, fear and blind obedience, and, on the other hand, liberal and humanitarian relativism, based on informed scientific debate, universal (male) suffrage and the peaceful pursuit of commerce. Anxious to prevent people from voting for yet another return to rule by divine right, A+B looks for various safeguards, including maximum periods in political office and voting, not by conscription, but by profession. This work is relevant to *Eki* in the continued presence of the character A+B, and in the depiction of military society, “la civilisation théocratique-militaire”, which is linked with regimes that are ruled by divine right. History shows that those who live by the sword die by the sword. France must turn its back on Cesarism and, under the benevolent eye of Comtean sociological scholars, work towards a rational, peaceful industrial society.

¹⁴ Paris: Armand Chevalier, 1872, 8°, 87 p. A second edition appears as the third part (pp.431-580) of *Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise*, 1879.

¹⁵ ‘Picopo’ is the Maori word for Catholic or bishop (from the word *Episcopus*). Bishop Pompallier was stationed at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands while Foleÿ was in New Zealand in the early 1840s. In 1868, Pompallier returned to Paris, resigning his New Zealand bishopric. He died in the suburb of Puteaux in December 1871.

***Les travailleurs à la seconde Chambre (1873)*¹⁶**

This short pamphlet takes up one of the ideas of *La Convention industrielle et libérale*: it suggests that the way for French society and politics to escape from a sterile confrontation between reactionary and progressive parties is to create a second chamber that would be elected, not by universal suffrage, but by the productive, working sector of the country—workers, employers and intellectuals—who would elect one representative for every 30,000 electors. This second chamber would arbitrate any conflict between the President and the Assemblée. Because of the mode of its election, its members would prefer

la paix à la guerre, le travail au brigandage, la science à la révélation, le devoir au droit, la persuasion au commandement, en un mot, la logique du sociable *s'il vous plaît* à celle du (plébéen autant que royal) *nous voulons*. (4)

Once again Foley bases his social and political analysis on the Comtean contrast between military society based on political and religious absolutism and industrial society based on science and persuasion. The political system he advocates is still a hierarchical one, with the President providing leadership and taking initiatives.

Eki (1874)

It is at this moment in Foley's writing career that *Eki* appears. The Franco-Prussian War and the change of regime from the Second Empire to the Third Republic had led Foley to think about the sort of political regime that would promote peace, prosperity and Positivism, and provide safeguards against returning to autocratic rule. Does *Eki*, with its reference to "cruels humains" in the title, continue with the same preoccupations as the immediately preceding works and have something to say about contemporary French society? Do these scenes from the life of the 'white' people of the Pacific illustrate the Positivist view of the past progress of humanity? Is it an escape from political realities to an exotic far-away world as 54-year-old Foley looked back to his experiences as a young man? His next work will be a continuation of his earlier ethnographic study of the peoples of the Pacific.

¹⁶ Paris: Le Chevalier, 1873, 8°, 16pp. Printed by E. Brière. Sighted copies have been bound in with *Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise* and do not mention the publisher.

*Quatre années en Océanie, II (1876)*¹⁷

This work is the sequel to volume one, published in 1866. It focuses this time on the aborigines of Australia (where Foley had spent more than three months in two separate visits), but this is done within the framework that he gave in the first volume of three basic racial groups (black, yellow and white) representing the vegetable, animal and mental stages of human development. The aborigines are again depicted as living from hand to mouth in a hostile environment that prevents their advancement, while Polynesians live in a benevolent environment which has given them the leisure to advance from the “végétatif” all the way to the “mental” phase of evolution (240-1). All people are basically the same and so anyone who lived for several generations in the same milieu as the aborigines would become like them (252-3).

References to Polynesians are very rare in this second volume, but those that do occur shed light on Foley's view of them. These ‘white savages’ of Oceania are very explicitly seen as just like the Barbarians of ancient Europe: “je suis forcé de vous montrer en pleine voie de formation, du côté resté sauvage de notre terre, des phénomènes sociaux fort analogues, mieux vaudrait dire identiques, à ceux que l'histoire nous affirme s'être déroulés du nôtre, quand il était encore plongé en barbarie” (247). They are going through a military phase which is based on pride and destruction (246) and which is likely to get worse before it gets better. Militarism, of course, is something that Foley saw as continuing in Europe but there it existed alongside progressive forces that could lead France to peace and prosperity in a society that emphasised the value of work. Foley may have heard New Zealand Maori talking of ridding themselves of their ‘savage’ status, for he mentions this as a Maori concept: “pour se désauvager et désauvager un peu, comme diraient les Mahouris” (234). But at the same time he is not impressed by past examples of colonisation by so-called civilised Europeans of other peoples “que nous allons tromper d'abord, voler ensuite et tuer enfin” (244).

“La Polynésie sous-tropicale et ses canacs ou habitants” (1877)¹⁸

This paper was read at a meeting of the Institution Ethnographique on 3 December

¹⁷ Paris: J-B. Baillière et fils, 1876, 370pp.

¹⁸ *Revue orientale et américaine*, 3rd series, I (1877) 305-14.

1877 and is the first version of a paper which will be expanded and republished twice more in slightly different forms. It describes the benign environment of island Polynesia—the Gambiers, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, Tahiti, the Gilberts, the Mulgraves, Wallis and Tonga are mentioned¹⁹—which shapes the lives of the people who live there. They go through the various stages of their lives (puberty, child-bearing, old age) untroubled and very quickly, spending a few hours working in the mornings and then dancing, playing and telling interminable stories in the evenings. However, they belong to “la variante mentale de notre espèce” and, to illustrate this, Foley gives the words of two Polynesian poems that he has translated into French, “Ode à la lune” from the island of Arossi and an “Idylle de Tongatabou”. Both are descriptive and are concerned with the passing of time and with the beauty of the landscape and sky. While the New Zealand Maori do not live in the same balmy climes, Foley will be anxious to show, in *Eki*, that they too have a complex culture with its own literature, laws and religion.

*Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise (1879)*²⁰

This work brings together in a new edition two political works that he had already published with different commercial publishers. *Peuple et bourgeoisie* (1870) becomes part 1 and *La Convention industrielle et libérale* (1872) becomes part 3. Foley enlarged the first part significantly, added a new second part, “Prolétariat, sacerdoce et patriciat”, but hardly changed the third part in a long work that he published himself during a printers’ strike, which resulted in typographical errors and shows the precarious commercial rationale for the publication.

Foley makes his aims clear right from the start (iii-iv) by a series of questions that he asks, each of which has a clear implied answer. Are the ‘extremist’ political parties that have ruled France for so long capable of doing the job? (No.) Have metaphysics and theology had their day? (Yes.) Are the exact sciences, including anthropology and sociology, sufficiently advanced to guide us in the public and private aspects of

¹⁹ The Gilberts and the Mulgraves have usually been seen as part of Micronesia, rather than Polynesia, but the very concept of Micronesia as a cultural entity can be questioned.

²⁰ *Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise, suite de cauchemars, songes, rêveries, méditations, éclaircissements, théories et conseils positivo-socialistes*. Paris: l’auteur, 1879, 8°, vi, 584pp. A second-hand copy of this book was on sale in 2003. It had been given by Foley to his son with the words: “A mon fils chéri, pour tacher de lui former quelqu’idée en tête” (Bonnefoi Livres Anciens, Paris). The bookseller quotes the statement that it is “Le livre le plus rare et le plus fou de Foley”.

our lives? (Yes.) Are scientific truths more reliable and more beautiful than the works of writers of 'religious fiction'? (Yes.)

In the first part, the dialogues between A+B and Lucifer, already published in 1870, are followed by dialogues between A+B and a new interlocutor, King Louis XI, who represents political absolutism, one of Positivism's main targets. Various other characters appear from time to time in the narrator's dreams, including Frederick the Great, William the Silent, Richelieu, Cromwell and God. In the nightmare he experienced on the ninth night, the prisoner/narrator dreams that he is being dissected by the Positivist A+B, who is giving Louis XI a lesson in the tripartite nature of a human being. The king wants this knowledge so that he can better manipulate his subjects (117). A+B attacks essentialism and metaphysics: animate and inanimate objects are made of the same matter (162), people's thoughts are the product of their social environment (205), moral conscience is a collection of prejudices held in a society at any particular time (248), God is a myth created to explain the universe and to control a ruler's subjects (233). As human society progresses, we move from total dependence on our physical environment and reach the state of civilisation, in which the mental and the moral become all-important (194). Louis XI recognises that he, as well as his subjects, were less free in his time than people are in the late nineteenth century. Individuals and societies need to want to be educated and then to actually be educated over a considerable period of time to escape from brutishness and brutality:

Le monde! qui partout est brutalement sauvage, tant que notre espèce ne l'a pas suffisamment transformé [...] tant qu'une suite archiséculaire d'ancêtres, aspirant constamment au mieux, ne l'a pas suffisamment prédisposé à recevoir cette susdite éducation, si indispensablement améliorante." (226)

Louis XI plays the same role of critic and clown as Lucifer had done in the dreams of the first eight nights and tells both God (116) and A+B (127-8, 145-6) not to be long-winded. The prisoner/narrator also mocks the pretentious language of the Positivists and their outdoing of Catholics in creating a new calendar, new saints and a new division of the soul into eighteen different organs (112-4). So Foley's dialogue technique is continued, even if A+B plays a dominant role and the other speaker has relatively little to say.

An even greater imbalance in the dialogue occurs in the new second part,

“Prolétariat, sacerdoce et patriciat”. A+B, Lucifer and the narrator all listen to a new speaker, “le picopo de Korororéka” (259), “ancien primat d’Océanie” (260). Foley knows the Maori word ‘picopo’, which in this context means ‘bishop’, being a transliteration of the Latin ‘episcopus’ but misspells the place-name ‘Kororareka’, the small town in the Bay of Islands where Bishop Pompallier had his headquarters in the early 1840s. Pompallier was a very poor manager of the church’s finances and was recalled to France in 1868, resigning his bishopric in 1869, and living in retirement near Paris where he died in 1871. Foley was clearly aware of the rather sad end of Pompallier’s career and may well have actually met him again in Paris,²¹ although he creates a fictional early childhood for him to suit his own thematic purposes.²²

In this second part of *Le XIX^e siècle*, the Catholic ‘picopo de Korororéka’ is barely interrupted as he presents a modern Positivist view of religion. Positivism is presented as “le catholicisme final” (279), following on from forms of religion that served to curb people’s pride and aggressiveness in earlier ages dominated by war (282), but “le savoir et la sagesse” have gradually replaced “la violence et la crédulité” (283). A new ideal is needed to replace old myths in a post-military society and Christ, “ce dernier des prototypes sociaux surhumains” (297), is no longer a suitable model, according to the bishop, in a society in which work is not a punishment but a means of creating a better future (299-300). A multiplicity of gods have already been replaced by a single one. Now is the time to go one step further forward and have no gods at all, with supernatural models being replaced by a human one. In a modern liberal and industrial society, “l’être humain s’efforce d’obtenir une valeur sociale, en utilisant son acquis mental en faveur des autres!” (396)

Polynesians are often referred to in the bishop’s speeches. An anecdote about Sisi-tabou, an Asian-looking woman living among the Maori, is used to show that the Christian god and the Polynesian Tangaroa are similar fabricated abstractions and that what matters is belief and its social consequences. This is part of the bishop’s

²¹ See, for example, the description of his catching a train to Rome with two nuns dressed in grey (pp.259-60) and the description of the deep sadness of “cette noble victime de son excessive franchise” (p.394).

²² He is said to have been born on the day that Louis XVI was executed, but Pompallier was born in fact in 1801.

explanation for his continuing to uphold traditional metaphysical concepts in public even when he no longer believed them. When Sisi-Tabou asked him to help her because she felt persecuted by Tangaroa, the bishop was able to put her mind at rest by reciting some words in Latin: “la ferveur du fidèle fait à elle seule toute l’efficacité du sacrement” (266).

The individualism that is characteristic of Polynesians and Europeans emerges from equating “tous les Koréros des Polynésiens” with universal suffrage in Europe (334). A distinction is made, however, between these two variants of the ‘white’ race that represent the mental stage in human evolution: “l’une polynésienne, intellectuello-sentimentale ou religieuse [...]; l’autre européenne, pratico-intellectuelle ou scientifique” (357). The Maori had not yet moved from a religious to a scientific worldview, despite sharing the same sort of intellect with their European counterparts.

A dissenting voice is still present in this work, but it takes the form of hostile or sceptical murmurings from the audience constantly peppering the bishop’s speeches and there are no developed counter-arguments. The protests can even force the bishop to stop speaking (392), but by the end he has won many of them over to his point of view (429).

Anthropological papers (1879)

Foley published four papers in the *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris* in 1879, after delivering them orally during the year.²³ All are about specific aspects of the life of New Caledonians—their clothes, houses, manners—and notably about two types of women: the coquette whose task it is to seduce the indolent men and the sorcière who makes pottery. New Caledonian women are seen as more advanced than “la noire Papoue” and less advanced than “la blanche Mahourie” (679). Their limited progress is seen, for example, in the way that men and women live apart, which means that “le foyer domestique n’existe pas” (606). The role of the coquette is seen as important in the history of the culture’s progress because it tends to bring

²³ “Sur les usages des ceintures de famine à la Nouvelle-Calédonie”, “Sur les habitations et les mœurs des Néo-Calédoniens”, “Quelques détails et réflexions sur le costume et les mœurs de la coquette néo-calédonienne”, “Deux mots sur le mode vital des hommes et (tout particulièrement) des femmes noirs; à propos du pot-au-feu des Néo-Calédoniens et des rares sorcières qui, seules, savent le fabriquer”, *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 3rd series, 2 (1879), 529-30, 604-6, 675-82, 748-55.

together the best women (enterprising and beautiful) and the best men (strong male chiefs) to create the beginnings of an aristocracy, a form of power that can be passed on from one generation to the next, providing social stability and the accumulation of material wealth (680-1). Foley is clearly looking for evidence in New Caledonian culture for the signs of the constant human progress that Auguste Comte had prescribed. He finds them “seulement en germe à la Nouvelle-Calédonie”, whereas they are “en pleine voie de réalisation à la Nouvelle-Zélande” (681). He clearly expected to give papers about the New Zealand Maori to the society, but this never happened.

“Considérations sur les races humaines” (1880)

This paper delivered to the Société d’anthropologie²⁴ brings out the importance of Polynesia for Foley, as Polynesia and Europe are “les seules contrées de la terre où il se soit produit des blancs” (373), that is, people who have the opportunity to spend a lot of their time thinking. Once again Foley expresses the view that it is thanks to his favourable environment that the Polynesian “est parfaitement libre de s’adonner à la vie mentale; et de parfaire son intelligence, en l’employant à la solution de problèmes sociaux et moraux” (373).

This paper is significant for its defence of Polynesian cannibalism on the grounds that “la viande fait (non pas absolument, mais trop, beaucoup trop) défaut à l’homme” (374). Cannibalism and “la belle civilisation des tabous” are intelligent answers to this situation. One can see that Foley is aware of the weakness of the argument, in that he has to acknowledge that there is a certain amount of other meat available to people, notably in the form of birds and fish. He, accordingly, divides cannibalism into five separate historical phases that show moral and social progress as human life is valued more highly and cannibals become more discriminating in those they kill and eat. Polynesians are somewhat imperfectly at the most advanced stage, where they do not eat members of their own group and only eat their enemies under special circumstances. At the end of a battle, enemies are not killed but taken prisoner and set to work. Killing and eating slaves is only condoned to celebrate major events, like the birth, death or marriage of a chief or a peace agreement (377).

²⁴ *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 3rd series, 3 (1880), 365-77.

This view of cannibalism explains the statement in *Eki* that, at the cannibal feast that was held to celebrate Akaroa's victory over Tikao, "Pour manger, on ne tua personne. Les quelques morts du combat furent seuls servis au festin" (26). Foley can sacrifice accuracy of anthropological detail—in this case, the willingness to kill prisoners—to the neat structuring of an overall pattern.

Des trois grandes races humaines (1881)

This 61-page work is purportedly the text of a one-hour 1880 popular lecture: it makes its points in a methodical but heavy-handed manner and is quite distinct from the paper given to the learned Société d'anthropologie, which alludes lightly to Positivist theory. This book repeats Foley's basic views, already expressed in *Quatre années en Océanie* and elsewhere, on the three racial groups that he sees as making up mankind and as being the product of their hospitable or hostile environments. Once again Polynesians and Europeans are linked together as those whose favourable environment allows them to develop mentally:

Enfin la catégorie des pays bons (soit naturellement, comme le sont la plupart des îles de la Polynésie, soit artificiellement comme le sont devenues la plupart des contrées du Sud et du centre de notre Europe) comprend tous ceux où respirer, boire, manger et même agir sont choses si faciles pour l'homme, qu'il y trouve enfin suffisamment de loisirs pour aborder sa fonction capitale : penser. (26)

Polynesians, then, are characterised by their intelligence, even if they have not developed the industrial and scientific society found in Europe. Once again, one wonders whether the remarks on Polynesians are meant to include the New Zealand Maori as well as those who live on supposedly idyllic tropical islands. The congenial environment is seen to produce physical characteristics (skin colour, head shape) and psychological, social and moral qualities. Polynesians manage to combine a fierce individualism along with a sense of belonging to a group. These apparently opposing qualities are the source of progress:

En Polynésie, au sein d'un monde aussi bon que charmant, deux choses entraînent l'homme dans le sens de son développement mental, sa férocité native et sa native sociabilité (46)

The superiority of the Polynesians is moral as well as intellectual. Cannibalism is explained in terms of the rarity of other forms of protein.

Et moralement, en mettant pareillement leur intelligence au service de leur sociabilité, pour aboutir à un système de prescriptions politico-religieuses, recommandant de plus en plus le respect du corps humain. (47)

Foley is clearly referring to the notion of tapu which governs the life of Polynesians. Polynesians are accredited with a highly organised religious life in which the role of the Tou'i-Tonga is seen as parallel to that of the Pope in medieval Europe, a spiritual power that is more or less independent of temporal power. While linking Polynesians and Europeans through their physical resemblances and their intellectual capacity, Foley distinguishes them in other lesser respects.

Etonnez-vous, après tout cela, que les blancs de notre vieux monde et ceux du nouveau, les européens (variété mentale pratico-intellectuelle ou scientifique) et les polynésiens (variété mentale sentimentalo-intellectuelle ou religieuse), soient, de tous les hommes, ceux qui mettent dans leurs résolutions plus d'intelligence que de caractère et de cœur. (48-9)

Both Europeans and Polynesians are characterised by the adjectives “blanc”, “mental” and “intellectuel”, but Europeans are “pratiques” and “scientifiques” while Polynesians are “sentimentaux” and “religieux”. Foley sees religion as the result of using one’s intellect in the service of one’s feelings, while science achieves practical results.

These are the ideas on race and on Polynesians in particular which lie behind Foley’s *Eki*, in which the Maori are depicted as fierce fighters and in which social, particularly family, links are represented in the image of the constellation that represents three generations of Eki’s relations, whether blood relations or relations by marriage. Eki is the depository of traditional knowledge. Leading chiefs, like Akaroa I and Akaroa II, hesitate to kill when they can conquer by other means.²⁵ Just how congenial the climate of Banks Peninsula is remains a moot point, however.

Anthropological papers (1881)

A paper, “Les Polynésiens”, that Foley presented to the Société d’anthropologie on 7 April 1881 is only summarised in the society’s *Bulletin*²⁶, probably because it is explicitly a summary of the conclusions he had reached in an already published book. However, special mention is made of his “description fort intéressante de la

²⁵ The three generations of men in *Eki* who are all called Akaroa, are distinguished in this thesis by the numerals I, II and III.

²⁶ *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 3rd series, 4 (1881), 264.

danse du coït, telle qu'il l'a vu exécuter par une femme canaque des Wallis". The supposed lack of male libido that creates the need for such lascivious dances is something that Foley mentions in several works. When, in *Eki*, Antoine discusses the way Maori greet each other with a highly emotional hongi, he tells young Édouard that "en ces parages les désirs affectueux sont ordinairement si pâles, si vagues, et si éphémères" (21) that society has had to establish laws (tabous) to arouse people. Hence the custom of the hongi, rather than the conventional European kiss. While Akaroa I and Akaroa II show no lack of libido in their courting of Taia and Eki, their aim is to produce a son and heir, and their main interest lies in military conquest.

At another meeting of the Société d'anthropologie that year, Foley read out two poems "que j'ai recueillies dans les îles dont je parle" and which reveal "les mœurs douces" of these cannibals that one might expect to be cruel.²⁷ These are the same poems that he had already read to the Société d'ethnographie and published in the *Revue orientale et américaine* in 1877, a piece of poetic narrative, "Une idylle de Tonga-Tabou", along with a short "Ode à la lune".

Do they show that, when he was in the Pacific in the 1840s, Foley was collecting examples of Polynesian literature as well as artefacts? If so, this would reinforce the case for the authenticity of the myth about Maui that he includes in *Eki* and suggest that the stories that Eki tells had their origin in some real encounter with a Maori woman. However, one of the poems, the idyll that Foley read to the learned members of the society, had already been published in Tongan and English in a book by William Mariner²⁸, and this raises the question of whether Mariner was, in fact, Foley's source, despite Foley's claim that he collected the idyll himself. Apart from a line that Foley omits, differences between the French and English texts are minimal. Moreover, Katharine Luomala's improved 1986 translation of the poem shows that Foley made the same changes in meaning (eg substituting "tomb" for "precipice") as Mariner. The most likely explanation is that Foley came across a copy of Mariner's book in Tonga when talking to the French Catholic missionaries who lived there and so collected it there, as he claimed, albeit not directly from the local Tongans, and

²⁷ Alluded to on 21 April (*Bulletin*, 4:281); read on 5 May 1881 (4:339); and published in the proceedings of 16 June 1881 (4:545-7). Republished in *Le choléra chez les autres*, 1886.

²⁸ Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tongan Islands*, 1823 (first edition, 1817), 2 vols. The poem is retranslated and analysed in Luomala, *Voices on the Wind. Polynesian Myths and Chants*, 1986, pp.31-3.

then translated it from the English. No written source has been found for the other poem, the ode to the moon, which is said to come from the island of Arossi, which could perhaps be Alofi in the Wallis Islands.

There is no reason, then, to doubt the authenticity of these Polynesian poems, despite lines that can call to mind European Arcadian writing and Positivist anti-war sentiments.

Hélas, que la guerre est destructive!
Voyez comme elle a frappé la terre de stérilité; en creusant, dans son sein,
une tombe prématurée pour nos héros.

Like certain passages in *Eki*, these two “morceaux poétiques” are set out by Foley in short paragraphs that can be seen as lines of verse of rather irregular length:

Mais, la nuit approche, il faut retourner à Moa.
Écoutez!
N’entendez-vous pas le bruit des instruments?
On danse, ce soir, sur le Marli de Tanéa²⁹

Their repetitions, narrative coherence and descriptive nature contrast with most Maori poetry from New Zealand, which is more allusive and elliptical, and generally shuns repetition. It could well be, therefore, that, to render Eki’s speech rhythms, Foley sometimes used island Polynesian, rather than Maori, works of literature as his models.

Foley gave another full-length paper at the 16 June 1881 meeting of the Société d’anthropologie.³⁰ It is a very general explanation, in Positivist terms, of the way the behaviour and beliefs of the Polynesians who live in the tropics are determined by their environment. What is particularly interesting is that Foley shows a definite awareness that he has a view of what they should be like (Comte’s theory of human history) and is looking for actual evidence that would validate the theory:

détails justifiant, suivant moi, l’induction que j’ai faite presque *à priori* sur leur compte; en me laissant conduire, d’un côté, par le souvenir de ce que j’ai vu et surtout senti chez eux; et de l’autre côté, par l’obligation où je sais

²⁹ Mariner, who does not set the poem out in verse lines, writes: “Now as night comes on, we must return to the *Moóá*:—But hark!—hear you not the sound of the mats?—they are practising a *bo-oóla* to be performed to-night on the *malái* at *Tanéó*.” (I: 244)

³⁰ “Du mode vital de l’homme qui habite les pays chauds, à climat constant, où l’air est toujours suffisamment humide”, *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 3rd series, 4 (1881), 537-45.

qu'est tout être vivant de se mettre en harmonie avec son milieu (542)

He is also conscious of the anthropologist's fallibility, "tant la complexité des phénomènes plastiques dont nous sommes le théâtre, nous expose à l'erreur" (543).

He insists, nevertheless, on the indolent lifestyle of these people living in a benign climate which provides them with all their needs without physical or mental effort on their part. While these "canacs" are classified as being, like Europeans, at the 'mental' stage of evolution, their explanations of physical phenomena are still "fictives et sentimentales" rather than "positives" (543). Their views about supernatural intervention in the world are still the work of the imagination, not of science or even of everyday practical empiricism.

This article will be incorporated into a longer and more comprehensive study of island Polynesians in Foley's 1886 edition of *Le Choléra chez les autres*. What he says here about the combining of Positivist theory and anthropological evidence raises a major question for any analysis of *Eki*: to what extent is the description of Banks Peninsula Maori life the result of personal observation or of the wishful thinking of a theorist in Paris?

***Feuilles positivistes et autres, 2 vols. (1881-1882)*³¹**

Each of these two thin volumes, published in successive years, contains Positivist political analysis, "La Constitution révisée", along with some "Essais poétiques", the latter attributed to Antoine Denouval.

In the political essay, Foley argues that the "la grande question sociale" of the time is how to organise society when the "vieux monde théocratique et militaire" has been replaced by "la jeune civilisation industrielle et libérale" (2: 45). To him, the answer lies with science and atheism (2: 45). He repeats yet again his view that individuals and society are tripartite, made up of 'vegetative', 'active' and 'mental' elements that must coexist. This leads to an argument against political factionalism, particularly along class lines, the same argument that he had advanced in *Peuple et bourgeoisie*. Everyone has to pull together in a trinitarian state, with everyone having a role. Workers must not resent thinkers and organisers. Successive governments have

³¹ Paris: A. Foulard, 2 vols., 80, 96pp.

continued to push only one faction's interests (2: 90).

Instead of using a dialogue form, Foley leavens his earnest Positivist argument by bringing in the 'poetical essays', which are hardly essays, but light verse, including little plays in rhyming couplets, and have nothing to do with the themes raised in the political essays. A sonnet entitled "Rosette" is about a young woman who has none of the trappings of a city coquette, but whose naturalness and simplicity give her a beauty of her own (1: 55). A comic, sentimental "saynète en vers" tells how young Paul escapes from his boring, confused, drink-addled tutor to be with Lisette, the woman he loves (1: 65-80). A possible rationale behind this alternation of essay and playful verse is expressed by Louis XI in *Le XIX^e siècle et sa devise*, when he tells his Positivist tutor, A+B, that he needs a break as, "dans la disposition d'esprit où je suis présentement, je n'écouterai volontiers que ... des sornettes bien graveleuses" (206).

***Contes salés* (1884) by Antoine de Nouval³²**

Although the "essais poétiques" have an Arcadian view of personal relationships, that one could call bodiless galanterie between consenting equals, the *Contes salés* are very much concerned with sexual relationships between mature, wealthy, overweight men and lively young women. The four stories which make up the collection retain the same lightness and playfulness as the "essais poétiques" and so are very different from the dominant, earnest voice of much of Foley's published work. They are well-written stories of their type and have none of Foley's usual stylistic mannerisms. The longest, "Nisque", concerns the liaison of Lord Lionel Whiteneckcloth with the actress, Paquita. Lord Lionel is bored and Paquita promises to bring excitement to his life: "Tu t'embêtes, n'est-ce pas? Tu roupilles dans ta béatitude de millionnaire, tu veux du mouvement? N'aie pas peur, je t'en donnerai!" (13). Paquita—who is only "une actrice, moi, une fille de théâtre. La coquetterie, la galanterie, c'est mon instinct, c'est ma vie" (53)—is won over by Lord Lionel's quiet devotion and progressive loss of weight. At the end of the story (which involves a long journey around the United States), they marry and live happily ever after:

Moi, une lady! C'est comme un rêve. Je n'ai pas mérité cela. Je le mériterai

³² Paris: Ed. Monnier, 1884, 111pp., illustrations de J. Roy.

peut-être ... car je vais le soigner ce gros lord; et de l'imprévu, il y en aura, va! (62)

In a parallel relationship, Paul is constantly giving books as presents to his girlfriend, Clara, who is appalled by such boring gifts, which include (Positivist) Littré's dictionary and the works of Schopenhauer, when she expects jewellery, a dress or a pony.

Dr Foley has retired. He seems to be looking outside Positivism and seeing another world. In "L'idée de Monsieur Larsec", the eponymous hero is

un gros bonhomme court et ventru, à la face rubiconde, au sourire large, aux yeux tout ronds, à fleur de tête. Il avait fait sa fortune [...] dans une fabrique d'irrigateurs perfectionnés. Les affaires [...] ne lui avaient pas donné le loisir de laisser parler son cœur. Ayant atteint ses quarante-neuf ans [...] il éprouva le besoin de noyer le souvenir de tous les systèmes d'irrigateurs imaginables, dans un amour légitime et poétique. (68)

The woman he loves combines youthful looks and experience, ingenuousness and naughtiness. This is a comic story with an unromantic ending, in which the newly married couple are doused by the fire brigade on their wedding night.

"La morale de Titine" works by inference and not by overt statement. "Une séance à la société de Philandrologie en 1900" is about a very intelligent and progressive young woman, Mlle Adolphine Séton, who presents a paper to the society on what constitutes physical beauty in a man. Once again there is a lively young woman taking initiatives while men look on in wonder. She exhorts the women in her audience:

N'écoutez les propos d'amour que le mètre et le compas à la main; que la mensuration soit le baromètre de vos affections, et à celui qui n'aura pas les proportions voulues, dites ce que Dieu dit à la mer: Tu n'iras pas plus loin! (108)

At the end of the story, we learn that she has been given a chair at the École polytechnique, where Foley, of course, had been a student and teacher.

Foley is indulging his male fantasies, but he is also making well-shaped stories with surprise endings, told in a very lively manner.

***Le choléra chez les autres et chez nous* (1885)³³**

This is a new edition of a work first published in 1870, but this time it includes the final pages which had been omitted in the political chaos surrounding the earlier publication, as a new post-scriptum explains. The name of the very reputable publisher, J-B. Baillière et fils, appears on the title-page this time, and there is a table of contents.

“Sur l'étiologie de l'éléphantiasis” (1885)³⁴

This article is a report on the paper Foley presented to the Société d'anthropologie, rather than the text of what was apparently an “improvisation”. It was a defence of his view of medicine as a science which tries to determine the circumstances in which an illness occurs and it was an attack on what he calls the new school of medicine which, with the aid of the microscope and led by men like Pasteur, sees microbes as the agents that spread disease. His brief talk, which links the prevalence of elephantiasis with the relative states of hygiene in different Pacific islands, set off a very high quality discussion on recent medical discoveries which led him to back down and admit that he was being too sweeping in his judgements, a tendency that he often acknowledged in himself. Those who were critical of his stance were then prepared to admit that his observations may have had some validity in the circumstances he was describing for, once again, “M. Foley ne parle que de ce qu'il a vu, à Taïti, aux Marquises, à la Nouvelle-Calédonie, aux Wallis et à Tonga-Tabou” (277). What is striking in many of his anthropological papers is the precise, detailed memories he has retained of Oceania, with the help, presumably, of his diary. They were often based on very short sojourns and so one would expect that he accumulated considerable knowledge of the New Zealand Maori during his much longer stay there.

***Le choléra chez les autres et chez nous* (1886)³⁵**

This is a completely different text from the one published under the same title in

³³ *Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous. Nouvelle étude géographique et biologique, médicale et hygiénique, sociologique et morale*. Paris: J-B. Baillière et fils, 1885, 8°, 159pp.

³⁴ “Sur l'étiologie de l'éléphantiasis”, *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 3rd series, 8 (1885), 277-9.

³⁵ *Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous. Nouvelle étude géographique et biologique, médicale et hygiénique, sociologique et morale*. Paris: J-B. Baillière et fils, 1886, 8°, 160pp.

1870 and 1885. It is arranged geographically, as it studies peoples living in different tropical climates: “suffisamment humide” (Polynesia), “jamais suffisamment humide” (including Australia), “toujours trop humide”, and finally the Indian sub-continent, for climate is one of the factors that affect the prevalence of cholera. Foley distinguishes between tropical Polynesians (“kanaka”) and Polynesians from more temperate countries, notably New Zealand (“tangata”). His comments, some of the most detailed he ever makes on Polynesians, concern the “kanaka” only, but are often consistent with his descriptions of the New Zealand Maori in *Eki*.

The Polynesian is depicted as intellectually very sophisticated in having a very complex religious system, even if he is still at the religious phase of human evolution, and not yet at the scientific one. He has asked metaphysical ‘why’ questions, but is not yet in a position to ask scientific ‘how’ ones. The ‘why’ questions

ont poussé son activité mentale à concevoir l’espace et le temps comme meublés d’êtres absolument chimériques, génies ou fées dont les formes, gestes et aventures (purs fruits de son imagination) surchargent son mémoire de mythes, romans et préjugés qui ne l’obsèdent que trop souvent. (66)

Keeping these traditions alive from one generation to another in an oral culture is proof of an enormous amount of “travail cérébral” (67). There is praise for the kanaka’s gracious dancing, clever cooking, refined perfumes, his tattooing and decorating, cleverness in the design and use of colour when making personal adornments, his melodious singing that is nevertheless rather too like “la psalmodie”, the long, complex stories he tells and his gracious poetry:

force vous sera de convenir, avec moi, que, bien décidément, l’appareil encéphalo-sensoriel du canac est, cruoriquement et nerveusement parlant, assez richement irrigué. (67)

Despite their cannibalism, they show a greater readiness to give up warfare than Europe has ever managed:

en 1844 encore le souverain pontife océanien [...] empêchait, d’une façon absolue, ses coréligionnaires de se battre entre eux; tandis qu’au moyen âge même, a fortiori de nos jours, nos papes romains n’ont jamais pu empêcher leurs fidèles, de rompre la trêve de Dieu (67)

Foley may well have a false idea of the power of a Tongan ‘pope’ to impose his will

across tropical Polynesia, but this opinion was presumably based on his experience of the recently imposed peace on the island of Tongatabu at the time the *Rhin* spent a week there in June 1845.³⁶

Foley describes the everyday life of kanaka, a life of ease in which they spend less than two hours a day working: making clothes, ornaments or weapons, repairing their canoes, cultivating the land. They spend their evenings swimming, playing, dancing, telling stories and chanting verses. The heat makes them drink a lot and eat rather less. They eat “le cava, la popoÿe, le coco germant, la banane, l’igname, le taro, la patate douce, etc” (54), achieving a balanced diet thanks to the rules of tapu. Their whole environment on benevolent tropical islands makes their lifestyle “celui d’un blanc adolescent indolent” (67). Polynesian men are once again described as watching women dancing lasciviously without being moved (59-60). This is seen as another aspect of the indolence brought on by the climate. Polynesians mature early, lose child-bearing ability early and die young. “Bien qu’ils appartiennent à la variété mentale de notre espèce, les canacs ne connaissent que rarement l’âge de retour” (47).

Foley reprints the two poems, “Une idylle de Tonga-Tabou” and “Ode à la lune”, which he had previously published in both the *Revue orientale et américaine* and the *Bulletin de la Société d’anthropologie*, in what is supposedly a scientific study of the conditions that encourage or discourage outbreaks of cholera. His nostalgia for the Pacific seems to have taken over the text, although he justifies the presence of these pieces by saying that they are revelatory of the kanaka’s way of life. They illustrate what Foley has been saying about the way kanaka live pleasant, care-free lives, spending their evenings singing and dancing, dressed in tapa cloth and with crowns of flowers on their heads. They live in the present, and the pale light of the moon invites them to “folâtrer sur le sable du rivage” (74). The soul is filled with “une douce mélancolie” (72). However, despite what Foley has said earlier on of the effectiveness of the Tou’i-Tonga’s orders to abandon warfare, war, according to this poem which portrays an earlier time, has just been declared by the chiefs and the ‘idylle’ is a temporary escape from it (72).

³⁶ Captain Bérard to the Minister of the Navy, 1 Aug 1846 (Archives Nationales, Paris: Marine BB4 1011); Campbell, *Island Kingdom. Tonga Ancient and Modern*. 2nd ed., Christchurch: 2001, pp.85-6.

The New Zealand Maori, of course, do not live in the tropical climate that, according to Foley, results in idleness and a short life. Foley's benevolent paternalism, combined with a respect for Polynesian individualism and intellect, is a feature of *Eki* as well, however, where he is again intrigued by the richness and complexity of the culture that each generation inherits and passes on. When analysing the text of *Eki*, the extent to which the Maori tangata are like Foley's portrayal of tropical kanaka, rather than like European inhabitants of a temperate climate, will have to be considered.

3

THE COMTEAN PERSPECTIVE IN *EKI*

What beliefs and values did Foley bring to his depiction of the Maori in this book? When he published *Eki* in Paris in 1874, he was neither a Christian nor a colonial settler, but a French Comtean Positivist, looking back from the other side of the world at his three-year sojourn in New Zealand in the 1840s. He was writing for French readers who had little or no knowledge of New Zealand and was using his own New Zealand experiences and his subsequent reading about the country to provide material that would illuminate a number of central Positivist doctrines.

Foley was living in France at a time when people were trying to create a new philosophical and political synthesis after the eighteenth-century Enlightenment had questioned established religious beliefs and promoted the scientific method, after the French Revolution had outlawed Christianity and created a secular state, and after the Restoration of the monarchy had brought Christianity back again, often with a new fervour. France, in the middle half of the nineteenth century, seemed to be swinging wildly between monarchy, empire and republic, and in constant danger of another revolution or coup d'état. Foley was ten years old when the July 1830 Revolution deposed Charles X and was a young man during the constitutional monarchy of Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). When he was twenty-eight, the 1848 Revolution brought in the Second Republic and universal male suffrage and he was doing his medical training at the time of Napoleon III's coup d'état of 1851. His mature and productive years were spent under the Second Empire (1852-1870) and he was fifty when France's ignominious defeat in the Franco-Prussian War led to Napoleon III's removal from power and the creation of the Third Republic in 1870. Foley published *Eki* when the Third Republic was still young and when the Paris Commune and its brutal suppression (1871) were fresh in everybody's minds.

Foley was officially accepted as a member of Comte's Société Positiviste on 8 January 1851, at the age of thirty. His naval career was all but over, he had returned to tertiary studies in Paris so as to reorient his life in a new direction, but his medical career and his writing had yet to begin. Comte was, by this stage, a seemingly

confident man in his fifties, publishing a number of substantial new works which, while repeating his main ideas from earlier times, had a new emphasis as a result of his (platonic) relationship with Clothilde de Vaux. This change alienated a number of his earlier disciples, but it was the “late” Comte that Foley came to know and admire. Although Comte died in 1857, Positivism continued as a strong force in intellectual circles, even if there was a great deal of interfactional dispute. The Littré faction, for example, who published the periodical *La Philosophie positive*, identified with the doctrine of the earlier Comte whereas those, like Foley, who stayed with Comte’s chosen successor, Pierre Laffitte, published *La Revue occidentale*.

Scientific method

Like many nineteenth-century intellectuals, Comte had a very high opinion of science and believed that it was leading to human progress. Like Foley, but a generation earlier, he had received a thorough grounding in mathematics and science at the École Polytechnique and now wished to apply scientific method to every aspect of life. Scientific method had been used to examine inanimate matter, plants and animals and establish universal laws and now he felt it was time to apply it to human society. Comte was one of the founders of the science of sociology. He wished to save French society from the extremes of the “retrogrades”, who supported the discredited views of Christianity, and the “revolutionarists”, who thought they could make society better by destroying it. In the 1850s, Comte had become impatient with “mere” empiricism that established facts which had no bearing on how people lived. Steering a middle path between mysticism and the registering of scientific fact, he wanted to use science to create an ethical and social system that would take humanity forward to a future in which people would live in knowing harmony with the laws that govern the universe.

In moving to the study of sociology and ethics, Comte believed that he was continuing to be scientific, that is, to be looking for the universal laws that lay beneath phenomena. He saw all the sciences, physical and human, as interconnected and as building on each other. The basis of scientific knowledge, Comte believed, is mathematics, and on this, physics (which, for Comte, includes astronomy and chemistry) is built. Then comes biology, which acts as a link between the physical sciences (which Comte calls “cosmologie”) and the human sciences of sociology and

ethics: “les plus hautes notions de la sociologie, et même de la morale, trouvent nécessairement en biologie leur première ébauche”.¹ In *Eki*, Foley’s French narrator, Édouard, subscribes to this same view that thinking people, like inanimate things, obey universal scientific laws: “Les idées de l’homme se forment, en suivant des lois invariables” (51). People have to discover the laws operating in the universe so as to learn to live constructively with them instead of fighting against them or proceeding blindly in ignorance of them:

Tout assujettissement du monde moral et social à des lois invariables, comparables à celles de la vitalité et de la matérialité, est maintenant représenté, par certains raisonneurs, comme incompatible avec la liberté de l’homme. [...] Loin d’être aucunement incompatible avec l’ordre réel, elle [la liberté] consiste partout à suivre sans obstacles les lois propres au cas correspondant. [...] Notre intelligence manifeste sa plus grande liberté quand elle devient, suivant sa destination normale, un miroir fidèle de l’ordre extérieur, malgré les impulsions physiques ou morales qui tendraient à la troubler.²

Comte’s freedom is a freedom to fit in with the way the world is. His aim is to “concevoir l’ordre universel qui domine l’existence humaine, pour déterminer notre relation générale envers lui”.³ This can lead to a rather Orwellian-sounding formulation of freedom—“notre vraie liberté résulte essentiellement d’une digne soumission”⁴—but what he means is that what happens in our minds must not be contradicted by what is actually occurring in the material world around us. Otherwise we cannot act constructively.

Altruism

Despite his continued emphasis on scientific method, the later Comte frequently used the word “religion” to describe his own doctrine. He seems to have thought that the different aspects of pre-Positivist life had to have new forms in a scientific and industrial age. People needed the right sort of social infrastructure and system of incentives to adopt Positivist ideals. To describe his aim of making individuals harmonious within themselves and in their interactions with other people and the world, Comte used the word “religion” in its original sense of something that binds

¹ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 200).

² Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 206-7).

³ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 51).

⁴ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 80).

together. His was a religion that rejected any belief in the supernatural. It was a system that would create a cohesive society, a “sociocratie”, in this world. “La religion consiste donc à *régler* chaque nature individuelle et à *rallier* toutes les individualités.”⁵ This state of harmony might never be complete, but it should, like Christian virtue, be constantly aimed for.

To move towards this harmonious state, selfish instincts had to be subordinated to an altruistic concern for the common good of all people who are alive now or who will live in the future. Society is as good as it is now because of the contributions of the altruists of the past. Comte saw Christian morality as essentially selfish, for Christians were motivated to achieve their own salvation by observing the arbitrary whims of a fictional God. He thought that Protestantism was an extreme form of selfishness in which each individual set himself up as an expert on doctrine instead of submitting, like Catholics, to the advice of the experts. In *Eki*, Foley allusively refers to the inadequacy of Christian ethics, and in particular of Jesus as a model to be imitated, in the modern world where a *social* model was required:

Au dix-neuvième siècle, invoquer encore (à leur place) et (comme type social) adorer un être qui n'eut jamais ni femme, ni enfant, ni profession, ni patrie, c'est inim ... (17)

Foley and Comte were concerned with how to create a harmonious society in this world and not with relating to a supernatural being who did not exist. Comte wanted the individual to devote himself to the betterment of Mankind as a whole. Admiring the call for selfless devotion which he saw in Thomas-à-Kempis's *Imitation of Jesus Christ*, Comte thought that his disciples could put themselves in the right frame of mind by regularly reciting this text, but in a new secular framework:

Si vous relisez journellement ce trésor inépuisable de la vraie sagesse, en y remplaçant Dieu par l'Humanité, vous sentirez bientôt que cette transformation finale y consolide beaucoup un tel précepte, comme la plupart des autres.⁶

This explains why three verses from Corneille's translation of the *Imitation* conclude the opening section of *Eki* to express Antoine's new attitude to life (15). In Positivism, “Humanité” (people who have lived, are living or will live in the future,

⁵ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 42).

⁶ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 282).

and who are working towards the Positivist goal) occupies the place that God had been in for Christians: Positivists would devote their lives to this new “Déesse” or “Grand-Être” that would be the focus of all their thoughts and affections in a form of religion that Comte called “socialâtrie”: the bettering of oneself in order to contribute to the bettering of society would replace the appeasement of an arbitrary and supernatural God.

Nous venons donc ouvertement délivrer l’Occident d’une démocratie anarchique et d’une aristocratie rétrograde, pour constituer, autant que possible, une vraie sociocratie, qui fasse sagement concourir à la commune régénération toutes les forces humaines, toujours appliquées chacune suivant sa nature.⁷

The continuing progress from one generation to the next is what allows Comte to talk of a new sort of immortality. Although the individual’s soul does not survive to live in another world, a supernatural world of the spirit, each person’s contribution to the Positivist cause lives on after them as each generation gets better than the last. After living our normal life “objectively”, we die and live on “subjectively” in the lives of others. In *Eki*, Antoine hears the voices of those who have given him so much before they died saying to him: “Ce que nous ne pouvons plus faire nous-mêmes; fais-le, en notre lieu et place” (14).

“Vivre pour autrui” becomes the basic moral tenet of Comte’s Positivism, as he sees this as the way to achieve social harmony, true personal happiness and a sort of immortality. He rejects the view that everyone is selfish and that altruism is a mere mask for selfishness, but acknowledges that people do have selfish drives which, if uncontrolled, lead to social chaos and personal misery. He does not call for them to be suppressed in a life of solitary asceticism, however, but to be harnessed in the cause of altruism and human progress. The sexual drive which can lead men to be brutal (like Akaroa II in his first relationships with Eki) can also lead them to be affectionate.

It is this altruism which characterises, in *Eki*, the philosophical awakening of Antoine:

⁷ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 3-4).

Hélas! comme toute chrysalide, je devais avoir mon réveil; et ce réveil, diamétralement contraire à mon existence passée, était de ne vivre désormais que pour les autres; moi qui, toujours, n'avais existé que par eux. (14)⁸

And the particular form this altruism takes for Antoine is clearly a description of Foley's own life:

En parcourant la terre; en étudiant notre espèce, dans tous les climats, dans toutes ses formes et dans tous ses âges sociaux, afin d'être à même de la délivrer enfin de nos deux grands fléaux modernes le révolutionnarisme et le choléra; je vis donc aussi utile et aussi heureux ... que je peux l'être! (15)

Like Comte, Antoine is saying that altruism is not only useful in contributing to the improvement of mankind, but also brings happiness to the altruist. Antoine is wanting to save mankind by fighting against disease and political disorder. Foley saw his own work as a doctor, including his research into cholera, along with his writing about how society functions in different cultures and how it should be ordered, as fulfilling his function as a priest of Positivism.

Human evolution

A study of less advanced societies was an important step in Comte's overall scheme of things. Although he thought that egoism, the source of unhappiness and social disorder, would never be eliminated, Comte was confident that the future would lead to moral and social progress because he saw such progress in the past and could see no reason to believe that it should not continue. Looking at different cultures in the reports of travellers and explorers, he thought that they were all at various stages along the same path which European culture had followed. The West had, in Comte's eyes, progressed the furthest (although he thought that the Orient also had something to offer) and so had become a model for other cultures to follow. Comte himself, however, was mapping out an even better future for them all.

Because Foley had observed Polynesian culture during the four years he had spent away from France in the South Pacific, he felt he could show how this particular culture fitted into the overall Comtean scheme of human development and progress. This is one of his aims in writing both *Eki* and *Quatre années en Océanie*. At the end

⁸ This echoes Comte's view on human interdependence: "Vivre pour autrui devient donc, chez chacun de nous, le devoir continu qui résulte rigoureusement de ce fait irrécusable : vivre par autrui." (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, XI, 277)

of *Eki*, the young Frenchman Édouard will think back on his discussions with Eki and conclude:

Tu m'as enseigné les douleurs de ceux qui nous ont précédés.
 Tu m'as fait songer au bonheur de ceux qui doivent nous succéder.
 Par le passé, par l'avenir; tu nous as fait communier avec toute l'humanité.
 (56)

Through witnessing Maori life, Édouard has become more aware of the progress that Europeans have made and he sees this as a sign that the future holds further progress for both Maori and Europeans.

Comte saw operating in human history the “loi des trois états”. All human societies progress through three phases, each having a dominant intellectual and material characteristic. Early primitive society is characterised by theology and warfare and it then goes through a transitory phase of metaphysics and law-making, before arriving at science and industry. The first phase finds supernatural causes for everything that happens and it coincides with a warrior society. During the second phase, people try to answer the ‘why’ questions of human existence without resorting to the supernatural. Solidarity becomes an increasingly important need as the very success of warfare creates larger, more complex societies which feel a greater need for defence than for conquest, and in which laws are devised to order that greater complexity. In the third and final stage, the positive age, the age of science and industry, questions about first causes are no longer seen as meaningful. They are replaced by ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions as people manipulate their environment for their greater good. This is made possible by a more stable society in which warfare has been replaced by work. Military society becomes industrial society, trade replaces conquest as the basis for international relations and all this is part of a greater progression that goes from the inanimate, through the vegetable and the animal, to the human. The whole world is no longer seen as a static creation, but as evolving through time.

Theological society

It is the first of the three stages of human evolution which is being depicted in *Eki*. During the theological stage, people explain the world around them in what are now

seen as supernatural terms, although the people in question make no distinction between the natural and the supernatural:

A l'origine, et tant que la philosophie théologique est pleinement dominante, il n'y a point de miracles, parce que tout paraît également merveilleux⁹

Supernatural beings, it is thought, are making things happen by merely willing it. Within this theological phase, there are three sub-phases—fetishism, polytheism and monotheism—which societies progress through. Fetishism is “la fiction originaire qui anime spécialement chaque corps [inanimate and animate objects] d’une vie plus ou moins semblable à la nôtre”. This is followed by the hypothesis “qui superpose, à l’ensemble du monde visible, un monde habituellement invisible, peuplé d’agents surhumains [...] dont la souveraine activité détermine continuellement tous les phénomènes appréciables”.¹⁰

Fetishism, for Comte, marks the end of nomadic life and the beginning of the domestication of animals. This identification of the nomadic with the most primitive form of human society partly explains Foley’s very negative views of the Australian aborigines in his *Quatre années en Océanie*, where they are seen as scarcely human in the continuum of life that goes from plants, through animals to people. Foley, like Comte, thought that some people were less advanced than some animals. While the New Zealand Maori were also living in the stone-age, they lived in villages and were seen by Foley as infinitely superior to the Australian aborigines, a view held by more or less all European commentators in the nineteenth century. As well as coinciding with a more settled life, fetishism, for Comte, encouraged people to see analogies between themselves and the world around them, a first step in the gradual move through human history from egoism to altruism.¹¹ Comte saw polytheistic society as being characterised by a total lack of distinction between temporal and spiritual authority, and by the slave status of the working people. Those in authority are the agents of the gods, and their words cannot be questioned but only blindly obeyed since a warrior caste is in control. Slaves are the agents of conquest but, through also being workers, they lay the foundations for progress through work.¹²

⁹ Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, lesson 51 (*Œuvres*, IV, 538).

¹⁰ Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, lesson 51 (*Œuvres*, IV, 533-4).

¹¹ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 336).

¹² Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 338-43).

Although Foley clearly sees the Maori as being at the theological stage of their evolution, he does not seem to have thought it useful to distinguish between the three Comtean phases that characterise it. (This does not undermine Comte's position as he picked out the dominant characteristic of a given period, while allowing that other characteristics continued from a previous era or prepared for the following one.¹³) There are references in *Eki* to the Maori practising fetishism—"la malheureuse femme se prosterna devant un simple fétiche" (20)—, having multiple supernatural gods—"Toute personne que les dieux enjoignent de respecter est tabouée" (18)—, and praying to an all-powerful Maui, a law-giver who is characterised by his cruelty and jealousy and who needs to be placated by frequent human sacrifices. Whether or not this corresponds to actual Maori beliefs and practices, it is all part of the Comtean view of human history. There are moments, for example, where what is being described is nearer to voodoo than actual Maori practice: Antoine suspects that Eki is practising "charmes, exorcismes, conjurations et autres formules ou opérations cabalistiques" (26) against an enemy chief. Foley is using the Maori to depict Comte's views on the theological stage in human evolution.

Maori culture in *Eki* is characterised, then, by supernaturally imposed laws that take the form of a requirement to respect the complex rules of tapu. Supernatural gods are seen as the causes of all events, punishing and rewarding people, bringing about storms and earthquakes, explaining through their actions the phases of the moon and giving the faithful protection and victory. The story of how Maui created Banks Peninsula by placing mountains on top of a giant spirit is told at length to show this aspect of Maori thinking:

Ils expliquent les faits de l'espace et ceux du temps, les mouvements des astres et des hommes, par les seules choses qu'ils connaissent: leurs propres coutumes. Ceux qui adoraient Jupiter (exterminateur de Saturne, l'anthropophage du vieux monde) ne raisonnaient pas autrement. (51)

The Maori assume that these supernatural beings possess motives and lead lives similar to their own. Typical of people at the theological stage of evolution, the Maori are looking for causes rather than the invariable laws of science. These causes are found in supernatural agents, the gods, and the actions of the gods are arbitrary and erratic. Their despotic rules must be followed blindly: "Ce qu'a fait Maoui est

¹³ Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, lesson 52 (*Œuvres*, V, 23, 33).

bien fait. Les préceptes qu'il nous donna, nous devons, tous tant que nous sommes, les suivre et non les expliquer" (47). The critical thinking of the Enlightenment has not yet reached Maori society.

Warrior society

This whole stage in human development is associated by Comte with an aggressive, military society: "l'inévitable tendance primitive de l'humanité à une vie principalement militaire"¹⁴ as opposed to the organised work of modern society. Primitive man is seen as shying away from work and as finding warfare to be the simplest way of ensuring his survival. The warrior class ensures that menial tasks are accomplished by enslaving their enemies. Warfare is a way of controlling one's relations with other people before the law-making phase that will follow. Warriors are brutal, but their activities are seen by Comte as nevertheless contributing to human progress. The needs of warfare bring families together into larger social units which allow for specialisation of activities. They teach order and discipline, and the need for a social hierarchy. The accompanying slavery is a first step on the path to modern organised work.¹⁵

Warfare is a major feature of Maori society in *Eki*. The whole book is placed under the aegis of the Maori god of war, Tu-Mata-Uenga, whose name and supposed image appear on the title-page. Every Maori is individually connected to him for Maori are depicted as wearing a greenstone tiki suspended around their necks, a tiki which represents "un homme nu qui tire la langue. C'est Tou-Mata-Ouhenga, le père et dieu des cruels humains" (18). Akaroa le magnanime, in particular, is depicted as specially favoured by the god of war, and he has the "image tutélaire" of this "dieu terrible de la guerre" carved on his canoe (24). War and theology come together in this figure. War is, in fact, so pervasive in the Maori world that Foley describes in *Eki* that it determines their whole mythical world:

Le silence, l'obscurité, la mort, l'âme (idées triste et vagues) ont quelque chose de commun. Les yeux et les étoiles brillent. Les trépassés hantent la nuit. C'est par les astres qu'ils regardent. Maoui et le géant, la Nouvelle-Zélande et la lune (îles sur mer et dans les cieux) sont choses qui se tiennent et disent : bataille continuelle. Ainsi pensent les Mahouris. (51)

¹⁴ Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, leçon 51 (*Œuvres*, IV, 569).

¹⁵ Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, leçon 51 (*Œuvres*, IV, 571-5).

The story of Maui repeatedly fighting the giant, first on the earth and later on the moon, reflects the warfare that is a constant feature of Maori life. Maui is seen as an archetypal Maori, “le père de tous les Mahouris” (51) , and he is a hero who fights and is jealous and ready to strike at any time if he is not appeased.

Maori society in *Eki* is ruled by warriors. When a leader grows old and no longer lives up to what is required of a warrior chief, he is replaced by someone who does have the right qualities. When Iotété, “lâche et gourmand” (22), “ce chef indigne” (23), fails to stand up to Téroupara, he is replaced by “Akaroa le conquérant, Akaroa le magnanime” (23). Eventually, Akaroa I grows old and weary. His son, Akaroa II, becomes a mature fighting warrior and challenges his father:

Les forces de mon père déclinent; les miennes augmentent. [...] Il n'est plus digne de commander! Qu'il me remette le pouvoir. (34)

Akaroa I dies and is replaced by Akaroa II.

Maori warriors are described as violent, cruel men who enjoy killing and pillaging (34). When well led, they are “bouillants d'ardeur” (24), eager to perform heroic deeds, while, after the battle, they give themselves over to an orgy of cannibalism that is described with considerable disgust by Eki herself:

Abrutis par une digestion impossible, ils ne respirent plus qu'avec peine; poussent des gémissements ignobles; et se vautrent, comme à plaisir, dans leurs ordures surabondantes. (27)

The successful chiefs are, on the other hand, characterised by a self-discipline that accompanies their aggression. Akaroa I is such a mighty figure, “grand, droit, lucide et terrible” (23), and such an intelligent strategist that he often conquers without any need to come to blows.

Akaroa sait rugir des cris féroces; lancer des éclairs par les yeux; tonner des injures exécrables; et foudroyer des coups terribles.
Akaroa sait fasciner son ennemi; et, suivant qu'il le veut, l'immobiliser, par la terreur, ou le mettre en fuite, par la peur seulement. (24)

A majestic figure despite his physical deformities, Akaroa I is known as ‘Akaroa le magnanime’. When the warriors murmur, “Les chefs mahouris ont encore plus besoin de haine que d'amour!” (27), it would seem that their interest in fighting leaves no place for affection, and that they are focused on egoism and have no time

for altruism. Eki, however, goes on to say that they are mistaken in believing this for, while most of the warriors “succombent à leurs instincts les plus grossiers”, Akaroa I is concerned with higher things. Remaining aloof from the cannibalistic orgies of his men, he is concerned only with increasing his own mana as a warrior leader. If he eats the flesh of a conquered chief, it is to increase “l’esprit, la clairvoyance, la force et la vitesse” (26) of himself and his progeny. Even at the warrior stage of human evolution, forces are at work to create a better future in an almost Darwinian survival of the fittest.

Akaroa II’s childhood and youth are described in considerable detail as he exhibits a natural aggressivity and cruelty, and gradually acquires the skills of war. As a little boy, he beats Eki up or bites her: “Bien souvent il me faisait mal” (33). He is intelligent and cunning, stoical and strong. When he becomes a young man, his virtues are “énergiques, inflexibles, sanguinaires même; ces qualités, si indispensables à un chef de guerriers cruels, épouvantaient son vieux père” (34). But Eki, who had suspected as a child that there were “des violences plus odieuses que celles de la guerre” (33), also suffers at the hands of her childhood friend. She is treated very brutally by Akaroa II when he commands her to marry him. She is raped, then tied up, along with her father and mother, and threatened with death when she resists his will: “Sa voix, ses yeux, ses bras, sa rage, sa lubricité détestables, immédiatement se ruèrent sur moi” (37).

The lives of Akaroa I and Akaroa II are almost totally focused on conquering their enemies and taking the woman they want for a wife. Akaroa I takes over Iotété’s roles as chief and as husband of Taia, giving her no meaningful say in the decision. He then goes on to defeat Téroupara and Tikao. Akaroa II takes over his father’s role as chief, seizes Mopou, his father’s right-hand man, and declares that he will have Mopou’s daughter, Eki, as his wife. He then proceeds to conquer Iouikao after a carefully prepared battle. The preparations for these battles are described at length and occupy a major place in the story. Foley discusses weapons and tactics, and there is even a rehearsal for Akaroa II’s siege of Iouikao’s pa, with arguments for and against different stratagems. Although Akaroa III’s exploits are not described in any detail, he is associated with his father and grandfather in their military conquests and Eki is proud of “le pays conquis par son père, son époux et son fils” (20).

The story of Antoine's family shows that modern Europe is also struggling to emerge from perpetual war. Antoine's grandfather was a professional soldier who "ne rêvait que champ de bataille" (10) and Antoine became involved in the Napoleonic wars also, although as a refugee, not a soldier. Fleeing with the defeated French army from Spain to Paris, he sees the underbelly of war:

Chassés, battus, traqués comme des bêtes fauves, courant de honte en honte, de défaite en défaite, et réduits à moins de moitié; nous atteignons la frontière. (11)

There is no description here of brave warriors and their majestic leaders. In modern Europe, war no longer has any justification and, rather than leading to further progress, it is returning to the past of a warrior society. "Oh, l'exécrable chose que la guerre!" (11) is Antoine's conclusion.

Work

Theological society, says Comte, is characterised in all its forms not only by war but also by a radical confusion of spiritual and temporal power and a very primitive sort of work, slavery, which gives the warriors the freedom to fight by having others to perform various tasks as well as supplying auxiliaries for battle.¹⁶ In Foley's *Eki*, there are no Maori priests mentioned at all apart from Eki, herself, perhaps. Tohunga, for Maori, were simply those who were masters of their particular field, and Eki had not only learnt the sacred chants but, earlier on, claims to be the best in other fields as well (20). The warrior chiefs, as well as being chiefs, can also play the role of tohunga. Akaroa I tells Taia that his will is Maui's will: "Ainsi le veut le grand Maoui" (23). He is also the "favori" (24) of the god of war, Tu-Mata-Uenga. It is Akaroa II who promises and carries out human sacrifices to Maui when fighting against Iouikao (46-7). Foley is conforming to Comte's views on the confusion of temporal and spiritual authority.

Again in keeping with Comte's theories, Foley mentions Maori slaves on a number of occasions. When he wishes to describe the total population of a pa, Foley talks of "Esclaves et guerriers ... femmes et hommes ... enfants et vieillards" (38). Chiefs receive prestige from the number of their nobles and slaves (40) and the slaves may take part in battle, but do not share the noble sentiments of the chiefly class, being

¹⁶ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 338).

little better than animals in their lusts (26). They are not only battle fodder but are frequently sacrificed to appease the gods (32, 40).

However, slaves are not depicted in *Eki* as engaged in everyday work. Burdensome tasks are given, rather, to women and, in a major scene, the chapter entitled “Œuvre sacrée”, depicting the Maori at work smoking eels, not a word is said of slaves being present. It is clearly a large-scale and elaborate procedure that is being described, with about twenty people hovering around the fire.

Homme ou femme, enfant ou vieillard, chacun, activé pour son compte, essuyait, fendait et ouvrait, puis étalait et embrochait, et puis, finalement, enfilait son anguille; pour la porter au grand séchoir, où la fumée, le soleil et le vent venaient aider ces travailleurs à boucaner leurs provisions. (52)

Everyone is joining in, with no mention of any distinction between warrior and slave. Foley is forgetting about Comte's theories for a moment and recalling his personal impressions of a striking scene he witnessed at Wairewa in the 1840s, when slavery was no longer a feature of Banks Peninsula Maori life. What this scene does do is show that the Maori, like Europeans, engage in organised work, a sign of the advanced nature of their society: “Ainsi l'homme est partout le même” (53). A measure of progress in human society is, for Comte, the place of work in it. The work of the Wairewa Maori is described as sacred, as regulated by tapu, and so is still within the framework of a theological society, but one senses that work can also be seen as sacred in the secular world of modern Comtean Positivism, where it replaces warfare as the principal occupation of the population.

The role of women

It is significant that Foley's book is called *Eki* and not *Akaroa* and the book does not glorify the brutality of war. The story of Maori life is told by a woman, not by a warrior, and *Eki*'s values are not those of her husband. *Eki* is the story of a woman living in a warrior society. Women play a very special role in Auguste Comte's later thinking, and this has informed the writing of Foley's work. Comte has very firm views about the different nature and social roles of men and women. He sees men as stronger, more resolute, more egoistic, and as organisers and pursuers of power: “La supériorité masculine est incontestable en tout ce qui concerne le caractère

proprement dit, principale source du commandement.”¹⁷ Women are seen as more gentle, more affectionate and infinitely more moral. Positivism’s guiding moral principle of altruism and service to others is seen as a quality inherent in women’s nature, for they are “le sexe affectif”. They are, in this sense, models for men: “le culte positif érige le sexe affectif en providence morale de notre espèce”.¹⁸ Men’s role is to act and think, but they need the civilising effect of women so that their energy is harnessed in the pursuit of the common good.

This same sharp distinction between the nature and role of women is seen in Foley’s *Eki*. In both the Irish section of the book and in the longer Maori story there are strong, aggressive men and gentle, caring and supportive women. Antoine’s grandfather is a caricature of an old soldier and his grandmother is kindness personified:

Les soins éclairés de cette femme généreuse ne pouvaient retenir, en ce monde, un homme qui, malgré ses blessures et la goutte, ne rêvait que champ de bataille. (10)

While Akaroa I and Akaroa II are described as aggressive, strong and proud, the words that are constantly used to describe Eki are “bonne” and “bonté”: “chez elle la bonté prime tout” (19). She is good, kind and caring. Maori women in general are wise, “plus sages que les savants étrangers” (34), and both Eki and the other female characters of the story are also “modestes” in contrast with the majestic pride of the male members of the family (48). Women and old men are prudent, where young men are rash (44). Eki is also devout, going regularly and “religieusement” with her mother to a nearby grotto to recite traditional stories (35). Eki has much to put up with, but she does so with courage and constancy. Women are more sensitive, more spontaneous and morally superior:

Eki, par une impulsion admirable, que la mobilité de sa nature sauvage et son incontestable supériorité féminine peuvent seules expliquer, Eki me tendit la main en se relevant. (21)

Women are depicted as physically weaker than men, however—“notre faiblesse” (27)—and intellectually weaker as well, according to Eki herself once again:

¹⁷ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 286).

¹⁸ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 29).

Les crânes des hommes, plus épais et plus grands que les nôtres, leur sont (plus que les nôtres) des greniers sûrs et commodes (35)

Foleÿ was living at a time when phrenology was a serious branch of science and Dumont d'Urville's men made plaster casts of the heads of men and women of different races, including a number of Maori. Women in *Eki* depend on men for protection and even for their identity and Eki defines herself in relation to the men in her life, as the daughter-in-law of Akaroa I, the wife of Akaroa II, and the mother of Akaroa III: "Eki est fille de chef! Eki est femme de chef! Eki est mère de chef!" (19)

It is the later Comte's belief that men have made rather a mess of politics and philosophy, and so women are needed to put the cause of Positivism back on the right track.

Depuis la fin du moyen âge, c'est uniquement l'intervention féminine qui contient secrètement les ravages moraux propres à l'aliénation mentale vers laquelle tendit de plus en plus l'Occident, et surtout son centre français.¹⁹

He is thinking about the way medieval chivalry gave way to the egoism inherent in the Renaissance, the Reformation and a certain sort of democracy. The more recent results of the Enlightenment must now be complemented by the affective contribution of women:

La révolution féminine doit maintenant compléter la révolution prolétaire, comme celle-ci consolida la révolution bourgeoise, émanée d'abord de la révolution philosophique.²⁰

He has women readers in mind as he writes his *Catéchisme positive*, in which a male Positivist 'priest' explains his doctrines in a rather one-sided dialogue with a woman. Comte thinks that women will immediately see that Positivism fits in with their instinctive altruism and that they will immediately abandon the Christian beliefs that many of them are clinging to:

la vraie religion sera pleinement appréciée par les femmes, aussitôt qu'elles connaîtront assez ses principaux caractères. Celles même qui regretteraient d'abord des espérances chimériques ne tarderont point à sentir la supériorité morale de notre immortalité subjective, dont la nature est profondément

¹⁹ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 25).

²⁰ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 30).

altruiste, sur l'ancienne immortalité objective, qui dut toujours être radicalement égoïste.²¹

As the way women will achieve this feminine revolution will not be through such materialistic advances as gaining the vote or entering public life, Comte's view of women's liberation may well look reactionary to a twenty-first century reader. To keep them true to their altruistic instincts and to give them the greatest possible influence on society, women should be emancipated, in the sense of being free to influence their husbands and children and free from the need to work outside the home. "L'homme doit nourrir la femme, afin qu'elle puisse remplir convenablement sa sainte destination sociale."²² Any time spent in employment takes her away from her noble task of making men aware of the primacy of feeling and altruism over the intellect and egoism.

In *Eki*, Foley certainly presents Maori men as protectors of their wives, but he also indicates that Maori women have excessive burdens placed on them by their husbands. It is Maori women, for example, who do all the carrying in a society which had not yet invented the wheel, because a Maori man did not carry anything on his back, which was regarded as sacred (55) and even the male task of transmitting traditional lore had been neglected by Maori men since the Europeans had come:

Honte aux hommes qui maintenant, comme à cette époque déjà, laissent aux femmes la charge écrasante de conserver ces précieux trésors. (35)

This is the equivalent of higher education in France being left to women, when Comte and Foley assume that women's intellects do not have the scope and power of men's, and that women's education should not go beyond a certain point, for otherwise they would not be able to cope.

Women's vocation is moral, not intellectual. The latter, for Comte, is the province of men while women, the embodiments of the Positivist ideal of altruism, are to be the guardian angels of men in his Positivist secular world. Each man has three guardian angels: his mother, his wife and his daughter.

chaque homme trouve autour de lui de véritables anges gardiens, à la fois ministres et représentants du Grand-Être. Leur secrète adoration, consolidant

²¹ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 29).

²² Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 31).

et développant leur influence continue, tend directement à nous rendre toujours meilleurs et plus heureux, en faisant graduellement prévaloir l'altruisme sur l'égoïsme, d'après l'expansion de l'un et la compression de l'autre.²³

This places a new meaning on Eki's view of herself in relation to her male relatives. When she says that she is the daughter, wife and mother of chiefs, it is also an expression of her vocation. It is her task to bring altruism into the lives of all these men. When the young Akaroa II is learning to be a warrior, Eki is the patient victim of his violence, not a collaborator in it and when he asks her to join him in fighting against grown-up men, she refuses:

Il me pria; me supplia; me battit et me rebattit, pour l'assister. Ce fut en vain.
(33)

She is, instead, a force for kindness and care. When the young Akaroa II is upset, he is too proud to talk to a man, but he finds solace in the ever-caring Eki:

Recevait-il un mauvais coup, c'est vers moi qu'il venait pleurer, rager, maudire et ruminer toutes ses vengeances. (33)

Later, when Akaroa II's father outlaws him for fear of this rival to his authority, when he is weary and sore from his wandering life, and everything seems to be going against him, it is again to Eki he turns to give his life meaning: he asks her, in rather coy terms, to have a child by him.

Tous ... tous me pourchassent pour me tuer. Que du moins ma race revive. Eki, sois bonne autant que belle ... et recueille, avant mon départ, le ... souffle des Akaroas. (37)

Eki is shocked and turns him down, at which point he rapes her. Psychologically, it seems rather improbable that, after he has used such violence, she then immediately becomes a devoted spouse, thinking only of helping "mon noble époux" (41). She is, however, the constant foil to his aggression and this has an effect on him. After deciding to attack Iouikao and expressing his warrior nature in a haka, Akaroa II has second thoughts. He goes with Eki and her parents in a canoe out to where they can be quiet and alone. There he asks these women and this old man for their advice:

Aujourd'hui, je veux être sage et n'écouter que la prudence, amie des vieillards et des femmes : voilà pourquoi je vous consulte. (44)

²³ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 107).

In a stone-age warrior society, as well as in modern France, women (and an old man) can have a civilising influence. Although it seems a threat to his mana as a warrior, Akaroa II decides to refuse to meet Iouikao in single combat:

Oui, je refuserai le combat! Oui, mon courage et mon orgueil seront vaincus par ma prudence! Oui, je braverai tous ces outrages! (45)

He is not, however, converted to pacifism. Instead of fighting wildly and instinctively, he now resorts to cunning and careful planning. This is a small step in human progress, initiated largely by women. The story of his life ends here with his victory over Iouikao. He has played his thematic role: the shift from mindless violence to thoughtful strategy will contribute to the gradual long-term evolution from destructive egoism to constructive altruism.

Eki has played her role as a guardian angel to her husband, Akaroa II, by helping to make him more civilised. Comte saw this as the most important factor at work in a marriage.

L'amélioration morale de l'homme constitue donc la principale mission de la femme, dans cette incomparable union instituée pour le perfectionnement réciproque des deux sexes. Quant aux fonctions de la mère, vous les avez déjà définies, comme consistant surtout à diriger l'ensemble de l'éducation humaine, afin que le cœur y prévale toujours sur l'esprit.²⁴

Other aspects of marriage, such as the procreation of children and the satisfying of sexual appetite, were seen as secondary to this moral role which was fundamental to human progress. In *Eki*, Foley repeats Comte's view of the primacy of moral education in a woman's relations with her husband and children:

N'est-il pas vrai que la meilleure comme la plus belle mission de la femme ... c'est d'améliorer le cœur de l'homme, de guider et grandir ses pensées, par ce qu'elle-même a de meilleur et de plus ... chaste au cœur? (13)

This is said to justify Antoine's marriage to a woman who cannot have children. However, Foley differs from Comte, and is quite unusual in nineteenth-century Europe, in giving his main female character, Eki, considerable libido. She gives a long tactile description of Akaroa II's body, beginning with a general impression—"Je vois sa figure, noble et belle; son corps, souple et délié; ses membres, gracieux et languissants dans la pose, accentués et prompts dans le geste"

²⁴ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 288).

(36)—and then comments in detail about his hair, his eyes, his eyelashes, his lips. “Aucun tatouage ne décore sa figure; et cependant elle est belle : si belle, que, maintenant encore, mes yeux se mouillent de larmes, en se la rappelant” (36). She goes on, however, to recall her feelings at a critical moment in their relationship:

J’étais ... debout et toute nue ... dans les bras du jeune chef aux six doigts. Ses yeux ardents troublaient ma tête. Sa main égarée sur mon sein m’inondait de frissons étranges. Une angoisse horrible m’empêchait de fuir. (37)

She can remember his face as it was “quand mon âme revint sur terre, prendre à nouveau possession de mon corps, le matin du jour où!” (36). For Eki is more rounded as a character than Comte’s depiction of an idealised, bodiless angel. She has considerable intelligence and many practical skills, while Édouard is also very conscious of the mucus on her face and of the smelly oil that covers her body. Foley would seem to be combining characteristics of the Kanaka women and the New Caledonian coquettes with those of Positivism’s idealised figure. He presents Eki as embodying opposites: she can be noisy and quiet, anxious and composed, childlike and dignified, despairing and enthusiastic, majestic and crazed. Above all, however, she is good, and this comes through as her dominant trait and as giving her a Comtean role which is at the centre of the book. For she is not only a moral teacher for her husband, but she adopts Édouard to some degree and he, along with his companion, Antoine, learns many Positivist lessons from her: “Tu nous as, tous deux, confirmés dans le besoin de nous dévouer” (57). The Positivist moral cause of “Vivre pour autrui” has been advanced, among New Zealanders and in Europeans, by a Maori woman.

Continuity

A basic idea in Comte’s doctrine is that one builds upon the past, despite all the past’s imperfections. He is critical of Christianity for rejecting what went before it and contrasts this with Positivism that admires Catholicism which it uses as a stepping-stone to more advanced ideas. “Le catholicisme, qui jadis eut ma foi, doit toujours conserver ma vénération,” says the female interlocutor in Comte’s *Catéchisme positiviste*.²⁵ In the same way, Eki’s story represents a past that people can build on. There are constant indications that nineteenth-century Maori culture is

²⁵ Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste* (*Œuvres*, XI, 353).

like early European society. Looking at the uncultivated Canterbury plains, for example, Antoine tells Édouard, “Tel tu vois ce désert, ami; telle, aux temps primitifs de notre histoire, nos plus lointains ancêtres ont vu notre belle patrie” (17). He tells Antoine not to laugh at Maori ideas and customs:

Compare-les plutôt aux pratiques et conceptions, fort souvent plus que bizarres, de nos barbares ancêtres, Francs et Gaulois (26)

There are further parallels made as well between Maori myths and those of ancient Greece (51-2), for

Les idées de l’homme se forment, en suivant des lois invariables. Son cerveau est partout le même. C’est en voyant, aux mêmes âges, les mêmes objets et les mêmes faits se reproduire, qu’il a les mêmes conceptions. (51)

The need for continuity that progress requires is felt also within Maori society. Eki is constantly talking of the need for Maori to preserve their culture and hand it on to the next generation. She and her mother, Ea, regularly recite to each other “les exploits glorieux de leurs Atouas; leurs Tabous pleins de sagesse; et les hauts faits des héros mahouris” for these are taonga, “précieux trésors” (35). Ea has presumably transmitted these stories and laws to Eki, and Eki transmits them to Édouard and Antoine, for her own son, Akaroa III, has died and Édouard has become her “fils étranger” (48). She also gives them Akaroa II’s tiki, a red box and her greenstone pendants. She has become fond of them and, from a position of moral superiority, hands on knowledge that they will find useful in advancing the progress of mankind.

Another of Comte’s Positivist slogans is “ordre et progrès”. Human society can only progress when it is ordered, not when it is shattered. He wants to keep the conservative politicians’ idea of order without their theological beliefs and to retain the liberal politicians’ idea of progress without their call for revolution. Maori society is described in *Eki* as highly regulated. It has considerable sophistication and complexity, and is organised deliberately by wise law-makers. Thus, the Maori hongis are not something frivolous and trivial like the European kiss. It is

une garantie sérieuse d’affection et de bonne foi, un engagement inviolable, une véritable institution sociale que réglementent encore les tabous. [...] les bienfaiteurs de ces contrées ont fixé des lois inviolables (21)

Maori society also has its own literature, crafts and customs that Foley describes in some detail, with the man who tattoos Akaroa I being described, for example, as a “scribe, versé dans les hiéroglyphes de la gloire” (27). The fact that Maori did not have a written literature is seen positively for this means that their poetry, stories and laws are passed on from one mind to another instead of being entrusted to mere paper. Their poems are “précieux”, their verses “admirables”.

Jamais les pensées qu’ils renferment (transportées constamment de mémoire en mémoire, par des lèvres amies) ne s’engourdissent un seul instant dans le sommeil de l’oubli. (34)

The Maori legacy that Eki is handing on is seen as substantial, precious and living.

The need for social continuity that she preaches and incarnates applies also to European society. The story of Antoine’s family includes a very brief, but telling, mention of the French Revolution, during which Antoine’s father “se lança dans le mouvement révolutionnaire. Le grand Danton fut son chef. Ils périrent ensemble” (11). In Comte’s later work, the *Système de Politique Positive* (1851-1854), Danton is portrayed as the heir of Diderot and the forerunner of Positivism. The negative aspects of the Revolution are attributed to the influence of the sceptical Voltaire on the Girondins, who were seen as impractical talkers, and to the influence of the anarchist demagogue, Rousseau, on Robespierre, the fanatic.

L’école dantonienne de Diderot, supérieure aux illusions démagogiques [...] Ils dominèrent pendant les dix mois compris entre l’expulsion nécessaire des discoureurs et le sanguinaire triomphe des fanatiques; période qui caractérisera finalement l’unique assemblée française dont le souvenir doit rester. [...] Mais quand Danton eut succombé sous l’ombrageuse rivalité d’un déclamateur sanguinaire, la nouvelle dictature dégénéra bientôt en une rétrogradation anarchique, à laquelle rien ne sera jamais comparable.²⁶

This view of a constructive ten months’ period up until Germinal of Year II of the Revolution and of a practical, reforming Danton who was thwarted by Robespierre can no longer be sustained with all the evidence that we now have, but positive interpretations of Danton were beginning to appear in the mid-nineteenth century, and Comte joined this tendency which provided him with a notable precursor. Comte wanted his disciples to write a new biography of Danton in this perspective and, while Foley refers in various works to a Danton who is distinctly Comtean, it was

²⁶ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (*Œuvres*, IX, 599-600).

another of Comte's disciples, Foley's friend Dr Robinet, who would write a number of full-length studies of Danton.²⁷

It can be argued, however, that Comte's view of the French Revolution had a profound effect on the plot of *Eki*. Comte saw the major dislocation that revolution brings to a society as comparable to illness in an individual.

des variations exceptionnelles, qualifiées de perturbations dans l'existence inorganique, de maladies envers les êtres vivants, et de révolution quant à la vie collective.²⁸

Foley also makes the link between revolution and sickness. The character Antoine makes it clear that he, like Comte, sees (non-Dantonian) revolution as a major problem in the nineteenth century when he talks of "nos deux grands fléaux modernes le révolutionnarisme et le choléra" (15). In *Eki*'s story of the New Zealand Maori, there are two major regime changes which threaten to look like revolutions. Firstly, Akaroa I, "simple guerrier" (22), takes over the leadership of his tribe from Iotete. Secondly, Akaroa II, after being outlawed by his father because he is a threat to his authority, replaces Akaroa I. In both cases there is no violent uprising. At the very moment when the existing chief, growing old and incompetent, is challenged by a better man, the old chief simply and conveniently dies. This comes over as bad plotting, as the worst form of *deus ex machina*, as there is no reason given for the chief to die at that point apart from suiting the convenience of the hero. Although there are other possible explanations for what is happening here, it could be that Foley simply did not want his two Maori heroes to appear as revolutionaries. *Eki* is, for Foley, a story about the gradual and inexorable progress the Maori are making towards the Positivist ideal. A militaristic society is a way out of theologism, as, through conquest, it amalgamates small groups of people into a new, more complex society. This is what Foley is portraying as Akaroa I takes Téroupara's pa and Téroupara's men join his fighting force against Tikao: "Il emmena vers le sud les hommes et les pirogues de Téroupara" (23). After defeating Tikao, Akaroa I skilfully persuades the surviving enemy warriors to join him. He tells them that, while they are away on a military campaign, Mopou will look after their women, children and

²⁷ Robinet, *Danton, Mémoire sur sa vie privée* (1865); *Le Procès des Dantonistes* (1878); *Danton, émigré* (1887); *Danton, Homme d'état* (1889). For an analysis of the Positivist view of Danton, see Hampson, *Danton*, 1978, pp.8-12.

²⁸ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (*Œuvres*, VIII, 430).

old men (30). Akaroa II's defeat of Iouikao does not conform to the same pattern, but this episode focuses on the sophisticated preparations for battle rather than on its aftermath. In their different ways, both Akaroa le magnanime and Akaroa II contribute to human progress, as does, of course, Eki herself. Foleÿ is wanting us to witness

le plus intéressant spectacle qui soit au monde: celui de l'homme conduit, par l'inexorable enchaînement des choses, à dépouiller un à un et son pays et sa personne des innombrables attributs de son initiale sauvagerie. (26)

Colonisation

A major threat to this progress, however, is European colonisation. Comte was vehemently opposed to colonisation, which he saw as the tyranny of the strong over the weak. He felt that, even more than other colonising nations, the Spanish had been so morally degraded by the experience that they would find it difficult to contribute to the Positivist cause:

la principale altération du caractère ibérique dérive de la colonisation, qui, plus systématique qu'en aucun autre cas, y suscita des dispositions oppressives, encore capable de troubler sa coopération nécessaire à la mission occidentale.²⁹

He is very critical too of the individualistic, Protestant, British colonies. In its most extreme form, colonisation treats other races as slaves for the commercial benefit of the entrepreneur. Comte characterises the white race as 'spéculative', the yellow race as 'active', and the black race as 'affective'³⁰ and he sees the enslavement of blacks by white people as

une monstruosité sociale, émanée de l'infâme oppression que la race intelligente exerça sur la race aimante³¹

The gifts of all three are seen as complementary in the task of working towards a morally better mankind. Comte is not only critical of other European countries, but is also stridently condemnatory of France for its colonisation of Algeria. He sees the French presence in Algeria as imposed and sustained by the French armed forces. If they were withdrawn, the colony would not survive. As an act of justice, he calls for

²⁹ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (Œuvres, X, 486).

³⁰ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (Œuvres, VIII, 462).

³¹ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (Œuvres, IX, 576).

Algeria to be returned to the Arabs, saying that, if the French settlers had really wanted to fit in with the Arabs, they should have become Moslems instead of entertaining the illusory expectation that the Arabs would convert to Christianity.³²

Comte is very critical of European missionaries who, at a time when their beliefs are being effectively criticised and undermined in their home countries, are trying to inflict their outmoded doctrines on colonised peoples. In a comment on the indigenous people of Oceania, Comte notes that the result of contact with Europeans has been very negative, threatening their very survival. The peoples described by Cook are hardly recognisable less than a century later as they have become physically and morally degraded through contact. Comte believes that the only hope for these threatened peoples is to be told about the new universal religion of Positivism, which is what all forms of religion, including their own, are pointing towards.

Je dois donc espérer que l'ascendant décisif de la religion universelle préviendra l'extinction spontanée des fétichistes océaniens, dès lors associés, au nom du Grand-Être, à la digne exploitation du domaine planétaire.³³

They will not be exploited but become partners in a universal enterprise.

Foley has, in Eki's son, Akaroa III, a clear example of the physical and moral degradation of the people of Oceania through contact with European colonisers. "Elle le pleure! Car le mal des étrangers, les blanquettes [...] et l'eau de feu ont tué le bel enfant d'Eki" (20). There is a huge difference, in *Eki*, between the traditional life of Akaroa I and Akaroa II in pre-contact times and the Maori who are living at the time when Antoine and Édouard meet Eki, that is, in the 1840s. Proud warriors have become servile and lazy. They have lost all their energy and self-belief and they have become demoralised by the loss of their traditional culture. It is Eki, herself, speaking:

Pour imiter les Picopos [les catholiques], ils méprisent les lois de Maoui; n'apprennent plus nos chants sacrés; et fuient les nobles travaux de leurs ancêtres.

Leur dédain stupide n'aura qu'un temps!

Maoui les dégoûtera de mendier aux étrangers des vivres, qui les empoisonnent; et des vêtements, qui les pourrissent de vermine!

³² Comte, *Système de politique positive* (*Œuvres*, X, 419-20).

³³ Comte, *Système de politique positive* (*Œuvres*, X, 519).

Il les dégoûtera de rester accroupis des journées entières, sous leurs chaudes couvertures, le corps en moiteur, l'œil somnolent, la figure hébétée, sans veiller ni dormir, immobiles et muets comme des phoques, vautrés par terre en plein soleil!

Il les dégoûtera d'avoir, pour seul exploit en leur vie, chassé, battu et dévoré les poux ignobles qui les dévorent! (35)

Just as Comte called for the French to return Algeria to the Arabs, Foley calls for New Zealand to be restored to the Maori.

Rendus un jour à leurs vieilles et nobles coutumes, les Mahouris saisiront leurs armes; chasseront les Papalanguis; et apprendront, avec enthousiasme, les chants précieux qui enseignent les ruses de la guerre, les secrets de l'industrie et les tabous de la religion. (35)

Once more it is Eki who is given these words of defiance. Is this a call to return to a cruel and vicious past? When she tells her French friends about Akaroa I eating Tikao's brain, eyes, hands and feet, Eki "nous dévisageait l'un et l'autre, avec une sombre méfiance" (26), for, although she is aware that they will find this practice repellent, she, herself, seems quite unashamed of this Maori custom. However, while she does not deny the traditional Maori past, her own moral values are progressive since "la bonne Eki", as we have seen, in fact shares the moral values of Positivism. This can actually make her position psychologically unconvincing as no Maori woman of the time would have had this European perspective, and spoken, for example, of the warriors' "instincts trop grossiers" (27). She is, nevertheless overwhelmed and torn apart by her memories of warrior society, "obsédée par ses trop cruels et trop nombreux souvenirs". It is to provide some relief from this mental suffering that, on one occasion, she begins talking to Antoine and Édouard and "soulagea son cœur en même temps que sa tête, en nous psalmodiant" (26) her memories.

Her dream of the future can be seen as a desire for the continuance of a complex culture (les chants précieux), a recognition of the need for the application of the intellect from within a militaristic society (les ruses de la guerre), the Comtean championing of work as leading to the next step in the progress of Maori society (les secrets de l'industrie), and the importance of holding a society together according to Comte's view of the role of supernatural or secular religion (les tabous de la religion). The bustling eel-smoking scene is a promising example of what contemporary Maori are capable of when they lead traditional, independent lives,

away from the colonising Europeans. A little help from benevolent France would not, however, go amiss:

Tu donneras, au chef des Oui-Oui, le grigri de mon noble époux; pour qu'il vienne protéger mon peuple. (48)

Antoine looks at the dead marshes around Wairewa and Waihora and prophesies that one day, “dans quelques siècles, plus tôt, peut-être” (17), all this will be changed as a result of people working to transform it. Just as France changed from a warrior to an industrial society, the same will happen in the land of the Maori:

A la place de ces roseaux et de ces joncs sauvages, il y aura des champs fertiles et de grasses prairies; au silence de la tombe succédera le bruit du travail (17)

It is people like Akaroa le magnanime and Eki who will have helped engineer this change. “Puissent les vrais bienfaiteurs de cette contrée n’être pas méconnus, par leur postérité; comme le sont nos aïeux, par la leur!” (17) The French no longer know the names of those who were instrumental in the progressive evolution of their own society back in the times of the Gauls and Franks. Foley is telling the story of Eki so that she will not be an unsung heroine. She and her family have, in a militaristic society in New Zealand, made their contribution to what Comte calls Humanity.

A MAORI VOICE

The narrative frame

Foley's *Eki* is a work of fiction published in Paris in 1874 and set in New Zealand in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Foley's name does not appear on the title-page, but only at the end of the "Dédicace", where he does not explicitly attribute to himself any role in the composition of the book, although one expects the writer of a dedication to be the author of the text that follows. Moreover, the fact that he, rather unusually, signs with his medical qualification, "Dr A.-E. Foley", suggests some sort of link with the "Dr Antoine" who is named immediately afterwards at the beginning of the Introduction. Once Dr Antoine has given the reader a wink by briefly describing his somewhat immature but promising companion, Édouard, it is Édouard's narration that frames the rest of the book. Dr Foley and Dr Antoine are steps in to Édouard's story or attempts to give it credence. The reader might have more confidence in Édouard because Foley, who is dedicating this book to Mme Guillaume, shows, by this, that he has excellent contacts in the Parisian bourgeoisie and intelligentsia and because Dr Antoine finds that, despite Édouard's youth and impetuosity, he is "un précieux compagnon", has "un cœur d'or" and will, with time, be "un fameux homme" (9).

These two fictional Frenchmen, the young Édouard and the older Dr Antoine, are depicted as going to meet an elderly Maori woman, Eki, at her isolated hut near "le Grand Lac", which cuts Banks Peninsula off from the Canterbury Plains. They arrive there late in the day, anxious to complete their journey before nightfall (18). She then tells them the story of her life. This seems to take place during this single visit which, presumably, lasts for quite a few days, although there is no indication of how much time is passing until very near the end. Probably we are meant to think that the ten chapters of her story represent ten days of oral story-telling. (The chapters of another Foley work of this period, *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, correspond to the dreams of ten successive nights.) The telling of such a long story eventually exhausts Eki:

Les efforts de la bonne Eki, son émotion et ses regrets, en nous racontant son histoire, valurent à cette pauvre femme une crise des plus violentes. Elle en sortit brisée, rompue, ne pouvant même plus parler. (47)

On this occasion she takes a two-hour rest before she continues. That night, they watch over her while she sleeps and then they leave the next morning. As Eki herself realises, this storytelling is the culminating act of her life. She wants her knowledge to be recorded before she dies and, when Antoine and Édouard return to her hut for another visit, they find she has recently passed away.

It appears that Dr Antoine, but not Édouard, already knew Eki before the storytelling visit since he, for example, calls himself her best friend (47). Édouard, moreover, recounts a story about Maui that she had previously told Antoine (51) and Antoine seems to know where they are going when they walk to her hut, even though Édouard says that it is all but inaccessible (18). Eki is certainly very fond of Édouard, though, and treats him like a son, bequeathing her greenstone ear-pendants to “mon fils étranger” (48). He is somewhat taken aback by the effusiveness of her greeting, however, and Antoine has to explain Maori ways to him, so her emotion on this occasion is probably meant to be the reaction of an impulsive person rather than the result of a longer acquaintance.

The time that Eki takes to tell her story is dramatised through her interaction with Antoine and Édouard, even if its duration is not explicit. The slightly later time when Édouard writes her story down is referred to occasionally, but mainly to say where he is, rather than precisely when he is writing. He writes whenever he finds time, either in Akaroa Harbour or as they sail off the New Zealand coast. The writing begins in Akaroa Harbour in “janvier 184...” (9) and is continued when the ship is becalmed at sea and he has the leisure to write:

En mer, un peu au nord du cap Est [...] Je profite de l'impossibilité où nous sommes, d'aller de l'avant, pour vous continuer l'histoire d'Eki. (30)

Toujours en calme plat. [...] Je reprends le récit d'Eki (32)

Nous sommes encore sous voiles, à trois lieues de la baie des Iles. Malheureusement le jour décline; la brise mollit; et la lune manque. C'est une nuit de plus à passer à la mer. J'en profite pour vous reprendre le récit de la bonne Eki. (34)

There is no mention of what sort of ship they are on or what their role on the ship is, although the fact that Antoine is a doctor could point to him occupying a medical position on board. As Édouard mentions that he has time to write when the ship is becalmed, it can be inferred that he is a member of the crew rather than a passenger. What we do know is that Édouard is writing down Eki's "histoire" or "récit" soon after meeting her and while he is still in New Zealand waters, and it is being recorded for his guardian back in France, a man called Maître A+B, who is a friend of Antoine's.

Often it is made explicit that the chapters of the book are separate letters that Édouard sends off to A+B: they are about "la femme dont mes prochaines lettres vous raconteront l'histoire" (21). The first chapters are labelled "Édouard à Maître A+B", but then the convention is taken for granted. The introduction actually begins with two letters to Maître A+B, one from Antoine being slipped in with Édouard's covering letter and manuscript. Half of the subsequent sixteen chapters begin with a phrase from Édouard like "Cher et bon tuteur" (15, 30, 32, 49), "Cher et vénéré tuteur" (18, 22, 47) or simply "Cher tuteur" (34). Other chapter breaks seem rather to be pauses in the story-telling that divide it into suitably sized units, although they are sometimes marked by an allusion to the frame. At the same time, at least some, if not all, of the breaks in her story are imputed, on another level, to Eki herself.

Eki pleurant cessa de parler.
Je dois donc cesser d'écrire. (30)

This may well be a *Jacques le fataliste* joke, deliberately confusing two time schemes, but at a more mundane level it can be taken as implying that Foley is ending a chapter at the point when Eki takes a break in her story-telling.

Si bizarres qu'en soient les coupures, j'ai tenu à les conserver telles que notre amie les a faites. (34)

The structure of Eki's narration, including sudden shifts within chapters, is meant, therefore, to reproduce her way of thinking and the Maori way of telling a story which Foley had encountered when reading and translating Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, if not earlier when listening to some real-life Eki on Banks Peninsula. This adds to the need for Antoine and Édouard to act as a frame for Eki's story, mediating it for Maître A+B and for the general French reader. Eki's main story, told

by herself, takes up most of the book—ten out of sixteen chapters—and her story about Maui is the focus of a further chapter. The two Frenchmen narrate the other chapters at the beginning and the end, and provide limited comments within Eki's story.

At the very beginning, before Eki's story even begins, Foley has placed an Introduction. Two short letters establish that capricious young Édouard and dependable Dr Antoine are in Akaroa Harbour in January 184..., but then the rest of the introduction has nothing to do with New Zealand or with Maori life. It is the story of Dr Antoine's family as told to Édouard by Antoine. This is quite a clever part of the framing of Eki's story. It provides a European story that is easy for the French reader to follow and which provides a template that can be used for understanding the more exotic story that follows.

Antoine's story, like Eki's, covers three generations of a family. It begins with his grandfather who left Ireland to become a soldier in France in the early eighteenth century and continues with his father who perished at Danton's side during the French Revolution. Antoine, himself, is a refugee in the Peninsular War and an observer of nineteenth-century revolutions in France that only led to bloodshed and the return to power of reactionary forces under another name. He turns his back on his religious education and becomes a doctor, a husband and a Positivist, devoted to helping others through fighting against cholera and "revolutionarism". Both Antoine's and Eki's stories describe one of the generations extremely briefly—enough to give it symbolic value—and the two others more fully.

There is, then, the same narrative structure in Antoine's and Eki's stories as we follow the fortunes of three men of successive generations of the same family. Where the first generation of Antoine's family leaves Ireland to go to France, the equivalent person in Eki's story moves from an area of active volcanic activity in the North Island of New Zealand to Banks Peninsula in the South Island to set himself and his family up in a completely new environment. In the new French setting, Antoine's father tries to create a better society by challenging the old and taking an active part in the French Revolution. The hero of Eki's second generation challenges his aging and increasingly inadequate father whom he sees as no longer able to lead his tribe. Antoine himself adopts new values and wants to make the world a more peaceful

place and the third Maori generation tries to come to terms with the values of European colonisers. Both the European story and the New Zealand story end in hope, but a hope that has not yet been fulfilled.

Both Antoine's and Eki's stories are dominated by war and reactions to war. The recent history of France is seen as one long story of international war and internal revolution. Antoine's grandfather, "un intrépide soldat" (10), becomes an officer in Louis XV's army, a hero of the Battle of Fontenoy who, even in his old age, "ne rêvait que champ de bataille" (10). Foley and Comte saw strong links between mental and physical health and Akaroa le magnanime is "fou, bossu et boiteux" (22) and Antoine's grandfather is "manchot du bras droit et mutilé de la main gauche" and suffers from gout (10). When he dies, he leaves nothing to his widow, "cette femme généreuse", but "un enfant presque chétif" (10) who, when he grows up, will be guillotined during the Terror. The widow of this second hero also lives in poverty and soon dies, despite her strong constitution, leaving Antoine, "pauvre, seul et tout petit" (11). In each instance, resorting to violence does not improve the situation of the people around the hero.

Antoine's wife is, like Eki, a very positive female figure in the midst of all this male violence: her nature is

si doux et si bon, si simple et si gracieux, si pur, si calme, si résigné (pour ainsi dire), qu'on eût dit un ange empressé de procurer, aux autres, les ravissantes sensations d'un monde parfait et trop justement regretté (12).

The facts that she is "ravissante" rather than "belle", or that she is incapable of having children, seem unimportant, merely emphasising her moral superiority and her angelic nature. Antoine's story—like Eki's—is not only concerned with male violence but also with the male character's choice of a female partner. This is a novel about love as well as war. The female characters are given the role of moral and spiritual advisers to the active male characters. The third-generation woman in Antoine's story leaves no biological children, but her altruism lives on through a man who has at last learnt the lesson women teach through the example they set. When Antoine's altruistic wife dies after her parents have perished in an outbreak of cholera, Antoine decides to devote his life to ridding the world of its modern plagues, revolution and cholera (15). As part of this process he is teaching Édouard. Eki

outlives her son and so has to place her hopes for the future on her foreign adoptive son, Édouard. He is the recipient of both a European and a Maori heritage.

Antoine's task of improving the world provides the link between his story and the description of life among the New Zealand Maori that follows. By studying how people live in different places and times, one could conceivably learn lessons about the circumstances which lead to revolution. Foley's other works also show that he is interested as well in establishing what sort of environmental factors favour outbreaks of cholera, a disease he finds in France but not in Polynesia. However, the thematic structure of *Eki* is less precisely focused on revolution and disease than Antoine's indications might suggest, because this is really Édouard's book, not Antoine's. Antoine may provide the outermost frame in his first brief letter to Maître A+B, but then it is Édouard who narrates at length or frames the narrative contributions of Eki and Antoine. Édouard discovers Antoine's and Eki's parallel stories and presents them to Maître A+B.

The sixteen chapters that follow the introduction represent the young Édouard's discovery of the Maori world as he walks about the edges of the "Grand Lac" and the "Petit Lac" and talks with Eki and Antoine. What he learns from Eki will be measured by the reader against Antoine's story. Foley has carefully set up all sorts of links between the brief account of Antoine's family in France and the much longer story of Eki's family which takes up most of the book. Just as Antoine's wife dies after her parents have been the victims of a cholera epidemic, Eki dies after her son has been the victim of diseases brought to New Zealand by the colonising Europeans. Both the European and New Zealand sequences lead to the survivors making firm decisions on how they should act in the future to bring about a better world after absorbing the altruistic values of the women in their lives. Neither Europe nor New Zealand, however, is seen as a blueprint for the other, although recent wars and revolutions have highlighted their resemblances more than their differences. The wise, paternalistic voice of Positivist Dr Antoine points confidently towards a peaceful, prosperous future.

The early chapters are preceded by brief factual notes in small print to help the French reader to understand New Zealand geography ("Trois îles principales.—Au Nord, Ika-na-Maoui, la moyenne en étendue.—Au Sud, Stewart, la plus

petite.—Entre elles deux, Taouaï-Pounamou, la plus grande”, 15) and Maori language and culture (“Ariki, chef: Atoua, esprit, génie, dieu”, 32). Their apparently authoritative nature and the way they create bridges between Maori and European culture (“Les naturels de la Nouvelle-Zélande se disent Mahouris, comme nous nous disons Français”, 18) suggest Dr Antoine’s voice, but there is no indication that they are not part of Édouard’s narration. Within those same early chapters, Édouard’s usual role is to act as a stand-in for the reader: he describes his startled reactions to Eki and this strange new environment, while paternalistic Dr Antoine gives explanations that help young Édouard and hence the reader to understand what is happening:

Cher enfant, les faits et gestes, us et coutumes, superstitions et préjugés des Mahouris m’ont offusqué, tout d’abord, pour le moins autant que toi. Mais, peu à peu, je les ai compris; et peu à peu aussi, je les ai presque admirés.
Ne te hâte donc point de critiquer leurs erreurs et d’en rire. (26)

However, once again a particular role is not confined to a single character. Eki herself can supply explanations, for she is aware of Édouard’s negative reactions and stands up for her own values and customs with considerable forcefulness, even defending cannibalism, for example, as a political and religious act:

Alors interrompant son récit, la pauvre femme, tout empourprée de colère, se mit à déclamer:
« Les coutumes de Mahouris sont plus sages que ne le veulent croire les étrangers!...
Les esclaves [...] mangent par gourmandise la chair humaine! Les Arikis ne le font que pour assurer leurs conquêtes [...] » (26)

Whether he is successful or not, Foley is concerned that his reader should see the logic of Eki’s world sympathetically from the inside through such parenthetical explanations.

“Le Grand Lac”, the first chapter after the introduction, follows a fairly common practice in novel-writing of providing the context for the story that is about to unfold. It is, however, developed in considerable detail because of the importance Positivist philosophy attaches to milieu as the determinant of character and behaviour. Antoine and Édouard describe the land they are walking through as they gradually approach Eki’s hut. The countryside where Eki lives impresses young Édouard as a sort of magic fairyland, but Dr Antoine gives a sobering “scientific” description that links

the dead and poisoned emptiness of the land with primitive human life. It is only with human progress that it will become productive and healthy.

With the setting established in Positivist terms, the reader meets the heroine in the second chapter, “Eki”, which starts with her external description. Édouard describes her advanced age, diminutive size, facial and body tattoos, and the traditional clothes she continues to wear: her greenstone ornaments and her elaborate, beautiful but dirty cloak. He moves on methodically to describe her voice and her manner, characterising her by her abrupt mood-swings from calm to frenzy and from childishness to dignified majesty, but also by her overall kindness. A mix of positive and negative features help make her quite a complex character.

Eki’s own story

However, it is in this second chapter that Eki, herself, begins to assume the main narrating role. The systematic external description of the two Frenchmen quickly gives way to Eki’s forceful narrating style and her own subjective view of herself. She stands up, forces Édouard to look straight at her and presents herself with “une impétuosité qui touchait presque à la fureur”:

Eki est fille de chef !
Eki est femme de chef !
Eki est mère de chef ! (19)

Her identity is established through her relationships with three generations of men. We are introduced to some of the other members of her family: her father was Mopou, a chief and bold hunter; her husband was Akaroa, a six-toed, six-fingered chief and conqueror; her blue-eyed son was also called Akaroa. All three men have died and Eki is left to mourn them. She is the last of the Akaroa family. However, it is this family background, along with her traditional Maori skills and knowledge, that has given her mana: “Malheur à qui viendrait insulter Eki, dans le pays conquis par son père, son époux et son fils” (20).

Whereas Édouard and Antoine try to be systematic and objective in their descriptions, Eki’s story-telling, like her other actions, is often impulsive and emotional: “Un torrent de larmes et d’affreux sanglots terminèrent ce discours” (20). The emotion she expresses is justified by the loss of all her family, for she is torn

between living in this world during the day and being with her beloved dead relations at night. She is presented as strong, however, a force to be reckoned with, and as someone who will immediately challenge any negative or patronising view of Maori life.

This second chapter, “Eki”, which introduces her as a character, is narrated in roughly equal proportions by Édouard and Eki, with a brief authoritative comment from the less spontaneous but benevolent Dr Antoine to explain the nature of Maori greetings in particular and, more generally, the way Maori social life is carefully and elaborately regulated by the rules of tapu. The following eight chapters will be almost entirely in Eki’s voice, usually after a brief introductory remark by Édouard: “La bonne Eki, prenant la parole, nous raconta ce qui suit” (22); “Parlant ainsi, Eki nous dévisageait l’un et l’autre avec une sombre méfiance” (26); “N’oubliez pas que c’est elle qui parle” (30); “Je reprends le récit d’Eki; toujours en lui laissant la parole” (32); “Voici donc ce qu’elle nous a dit” (34). Two very dramatic chapters enter straight into Eki’s story without such preliminaries and without any intervention from her two French listeners. Then it is back to: “Je reprends le récit d’Eki. C’est toujours elle qui parle” (43). Foleÿ is clearly insisting on the narrative voice being hers: she is telling an oral story. “La constellation des Akaroa”, the chapter in which she finishes her narration is, like the chapter which introduces her, shared between Édouard and Eki, with Dr Antoine taking a relatively small part in the dialogue.

Eki spends her first two chapters telling the story of an earlier generation, that of her parents, Mopou and Ea. However, the focus is not on them but on her husband’s father, Akaroa le magnanime, whom we are calling, for convenience’s sake, Akaroa I. Her family is an extended family. The chapter titles, “Akaroa le magnanime et la belle Taïa” and “L’orgie sauvage”, indicate the two themes of love and violence that characterise each generation’s story. Akaroa I wins the hand of Taïa and, in various ways, defeats three chiefs: Iotété, Téroupara and Tikao, but, between the competing forces of love and war, he is shown to be much more interested in fighting than in his wife.

Tes ardeurs [de Taia] n’enflammeront jamais le sang d’Akaroa, comme les luttes violentes de la guerre. (27)

Eki was a very young child when much of this happened, although she does have some fragmentary memories of Akaroa I's fleet of canoes sailing out of Akaroa Harbour, after the defeat of Tikao, to carry on his conquests further south. One is left to infer that almost all of the story of Akaroa I's generation has been told to her by her mother, Ea, for the two of them frequently go into a sort of religious reclusion "pour se réciter, l'une à l'autre", among other things, "les hauts faits des héros mahouris" (35).

The next six chapters recount in greater detail the life of Eki's husband, whom we are calling Akaroa II. For them, Eki does not need information from her mother, as she has her own clear memories:

Ea me quitte.
Avec elle, grotte et buissons, lac et montagnes ... tout disparaît.
L'image adorée du compagnon de mon enfance remplit mon âme à elle seule.
(36)

As the "Ariki du feu", he is contrasted with his father, "l'Ariki des mers" (40). The chapters entitled "La jalousie de Maoui" and "L'enfance du chef aux six doigts" describe his birth and childhood. "Amour et ... délire" and "A-Dieu-vat!" describe the development of the relationship between Akaroa II and Eki that ends in their marriage. "Le pas d'Iouikao" and "Conseil de guerre" describe Akaroa II's preparations for war against Iouikao and, extremely briefly and almost dismissively, the battle itself. The rest of Akaroa II's life is summed up simply as "une vraie marche triomphale" (47). His death, like his birth, will be marked by extraordinary atmospheric effects as Maui expresses his anger and jealousy (31), but Eki's telling of her story is really over once she has recounted the mode of Akaroa's success over Iouikao.

In "La constellation des Akaroa", she says farewell to Édouard and Antoine, for she has nothing more to live for and is anxious to rejoin her dead husband and other relations who appear as stars in the sky. Her son has been mentioned only incidentally, but enough has been said to depict him as a conqueror, like his father and grandfather, and as a victim of colonisation. In "Un chemin de traverse", Édouard describes how the two Frenchmen leave Eki and travel painfully, once again, through hostile swamp country that is experienced as a "supplice" (49) and, when Édouard finally reaches firm ground, he is "délirant de fièvre et d'ivresse"

(50). Both before and after Eki's story, emphasis is placed on the hostility of her environment and on the difficulty of getting to and from her hut. The immature young Édouard, representing the French reader for whom this is all very new and strange, is overcome by it all.

Within this frame where Antoine and Édouard stagger through swampland, Eki's story has been carefully structured in paired chapters, with equal weight being given to the themes of love and violence. The two themes come together when Akaroa I and Akaroa II try to impose themselves as husbands upon Taia and Eki, but they are generally set up in opposition to each other, with cruel male warriors being contrasted with kind women.

Eki from the outside

Four chapters, however, remain to be told, all narrated by Édouard. They provide a wider Maori context for Eki's story and then describe her death. Because Eki has prophesied that she would die and join her husband in the sky on the next night of the full moon (47) and Édouard speaks of her having no more than "un mois lunaire" to live (49), we can infer that it is approximately a month that elapses between Antoine and Édouard's first visit to Eki and the one they now undertake, even though one seems to follow seamlessly on from the other. This temporal vagueness can be disconcerting for the reader and also, in between the two visits, Antoine and Édouard seem to have returned to Akaroa, even if this is not made explicit. It is only a knowledge of the geography of Banks Peninsula that would lead the reader to infer that, while their ship is stationed at Akaroa, they obtain further shore leave and travel via Wairewa to Waihora: "Nous retournons auprès d'Eki en passant par le petit lac" (50).

The first of these final chapters, "La lune et ses phases", gives a mythological explanation of the creation of Banks Peninsula, providing Édouard and the reader with an idea of Maori thought: Maui's struggles with a giant have created the peninsula's bays and hills and also explain the phases of the moon. The myth is given in Eki's words as told to Dr Antoine and written down by Édouard (51). Antoine explains the role of myth to Édouard, but this is done within Édouard's overall description of their journey. The second chapter, "Œuvre sacrée", describes

ordinary Maori at work smoking eels. This is everyday Maori life in action: in the smoke and apparent chaos, people are preparing food for future eating, following the sacred rules of tapu of a sophisticated society. (Because Maori caught eels at Waihora between February and May, this is, in fact, a temporal indication for the informed New Zealand reader, but not for a nineteenth-century Parisian.¹) The reader is shown the way everyday social life fits in to the grand cosmological scheme of things that has just been described. Ordinary work is an “œuvre sacrée”.

These two chapters prepare the reader for perhaps the most skilfully written part of the whole work: in “Eki au ciel”, Édouard and Antoine notice that there is an extra star in the Akaroa constellation and they therefore conclude, before reaching her hut, that Eki has died and joined the rest of her family as she had foretold. Eki’s story fits in with the cosmological dimensions of the Maui myth. In “Derniers devoirs”, the two Frenchmen are once more with a large group of Maori who, this time, are there to mourn and bury Eki. An everyday local situation is seen again within the grand scheme of the universe and mist has replaced the smoke of the “œuvre sacrée”. Instead of seeing people preparing fish to eat, on this occasion they find that Eki’s dead body seems destined to be eaten by fish: “Les poissons vont le dévorer” (56). Édouard and Antoine listen to the farewells of the Maori and draw their own conclusions from the story of Eki’s life. Her end is, to put it mildly, more messy still, for birds of prey, rats and dogs have gnawed her dead body. But mental life is far more important than physical contingencies for the Maori, Eki’s soul has become a star in the sky and, for Édouard and Antoine, at least, her values live on and the two Frenchmen will carry on her work: “ton âme lui survivra [à ton corps], dans les cœurs nobles et généreux” (56).

The end of the chapter is carefully orchestrated, with the voices of individual Maori alternating with a collective Maori chant (“Les voix puis le chœur de plus loin”, 56) and with the voices of the Frenchmen. In the mist, there are no bodies to be seen, but only voices to be heard: words and wisdom live on. This funeral litany places the Europeans and the Maori on an equal footing: “Leurs voix, seules, viennent se joindre aux nôtres” (56). The mind or soul is what is ultimately important, although Maori and Europeans have different ways of saying this. The Maori are concerned

¹ Tikao, in Best, *Fishing Methods and Devices of the Maori*, 1977, p.128.

with how they will face immediate problems without Eki: how will they defend themselves against wild animals, against their Maori enemies and against European colonisers? We assume from this, as well as from the fact that Eki has described having to, herself, learn the sacred chants that should have been the task of men, that she is regarded as a *tohunga* by her tribe. She lives alone and is a conduit to Maui for the other Maori. They are looking for help from Maui, whereas Antoine and Édouard have learnt from Eki, as a representative of the progressive forces within humanity, that they must, themselves, work to fight against injustice—“la cause de tes frères, plus qu’opprimés” (57)—and for the progress of mankind. Gradually the Maori voices recede into the distance, and we are left to ponder the meaning of their unfinished sentence. Distance and sadness create silence.

Édouard has learnt from his New Zealand experiences and particularly from Eki’s story the same lesson that Antoine, in the Introduction, is shown to have learnt in France from the story of his family and from his own earlier life. The spirits of Maui and Eki live on, just as the people that Antoine loved and the “hommes généreux qui m’ont transmis tout leur savoir” (15) required him to live on and act in their place. In a sort of prayer to those who had preceded him in the task of advancing human progress, Antoine asked: “léguez-moi toutes vos vertus, pour que je puisse vous remplacer” (15). It is presumably this same sort of encouragement from the past that the Maori are seeking when they ask the dead members of the Akaroa family to return at night to the Grand Lac and to bring Maui with them for an undefined purpose: “pour ... qu’il...” (57). The Maori, above all, express a sense of loss. The Frenchmen repeat the Positivist language that Antoine had used in the introduction. It is now impossible to distinguish between the voices of Antoine and Édouard as they pray that “l’humanité” (57), the forces of progress incarnated in a series of good people throughout human history, will give them the same determination that Eki had exhibited during her lifetime. They will work to ensure that progress continues.

Character and voice

The three characters who have a narrating role have clearly differentiated voices. Édouard, whose past conduct has, by his own admission, been “légère”, claims that he has been transformed through being in Antoine’s company and has now become “raisonnable” and acquired “sagesse” (10). However, his self-knowledge is not to be

taken for granted as Antoine still refers smilingly to his “légèreté” and “tête folle” (9). These qualities are accompanied by his “expansion” and his “cœur d’or”, pointing to someone who is spontaneous and generous. This means that Édouard’s voice supplies a fresh, excited, but not authoritative view of his new experiences in New Zealand. Despite his protestations of maturity, he remains the pupil, the learner. He is young, inexperienced and rather overwhelmed by what is going on:

harassée de fatigue, mon intelligence glisse mélancoliquement sur la pente du doute et du découragement.

« Que le monde est immense; et que l’homme est petit! »

« Tout nous écrase ! »

« Que pouvons-nous, pauvres pygmés? » (16)

It is one of his tasks to describe what he sees around him and he does this with a wide and sophisticated vocabulary in sentences that can be quite long and complex:

Dans une brume lumineuse, mobile et défigurant tout par ses bouffées toujours roulantes, dans une atmosphère lourde et puante de feuilles et de graisse brûlées; une vingtaine de Mahouris, séparés par des tas de branches et d’anguilles, formaient et déformaient sans cesse un petit cercle autour du feu. (52)

His enthusiasm is often communicated through brief exclamations or breathless phrases: “Poissons morts et hommes vivants! tout s’y tordait, tout y criait” (52). Short simple sentences describe actions or moments of drama—“Chut, fit mon maître. Toma-Kéké! Ne bougeons plus.” (54)—or make simple statements of fact: “C’est le matin, de très bonne heure. Il fait grande brume. Nous partons inhumer Eki.” (54) A wide range of styles, simple and complex, poetic and prosaic, are used to suit the needs of the moment.

Because Dr Antoine does not share Édouard’s mercurial temperament, the dominant tone of his narrative is quite different. He has, however, two distinct functions in the novel. Firstly, he tells his own family story in which he is suffering and learning. He then becomes the mature commentator in the story of Eki.

In his first role, he is telling the story to Édouard well after the events he describes, which is one reason for his voice being less spontaneous. He is also on the other side of the world, distanced from the scene of his European adventures. More importantly, he appears to have been, at least in his early life, socially inept, “continuellement embarrassant et surtout (surtout!) continuellement embarrassé”

(13) and failing to realise that the woman he loves might actually love him, despite her apparent coldness towards him. He makes “timides efforts” (12) to win her over and, when this fails, conceals his affection for her and deems himself happy. What he is suffering from is a “malaise de croissance” (13), the problem of assuming adulthood, but even when this relationship is sorted out through the intervention of her parents, he still finds it hard to fit into society at large with its “mille mesquines petitesse” (13), retreating once again, but this time into domesticity instead of loneliness. It is only at the very end of his personal story, after his wife has died and he has spent months in a state of torpor, refusing to face up to reality, that he ceases to be a “chrysalide” (14), wakes up and (he claims) becomes a completely new creature: his new life will be “diamétralement contraire à mon existence passée” (14).

While he is speaking of himself as a chrysalis, his voice is studied rather than spontaneous. He can be witty but only when talking about people who are not in his immediate entourage. His grandfather was “toujours furieux en temps de paix, toujours impassible en temps de guerre” and was dying “d’ennui et de fidélité auprès des Stuarts” (10). Unexpected combinations of words show alertness and intelligence. The same almost paradoxical style occurs when he talks of his grandmother’s decision to marry his grandfather: “l’amant qu’elle avait repoussé dans sa pleine vigueur, elle l’épousa infirme” (10). However, once he starts talking about himself more personally, self-consciousness takes over, preventing witty word-play. Instead, he describes his earlier self’s awkwardness and lack of self-knowledge in a way that attempts to elicit the listener’s understanding of the pains of adolescence and early adulthood. His later knowledge and his earlier ignorance combine in ironic sentences like “je croyais le moment bien choisi!” (13) or, when he is deeply unhappy, “chose plus étrange encore, ceux qui me comblaient de faveurs m’en parurent presque joyeux” (12). Instead of contrast producing perceptive wit, it is expressing the inability of the young man to comprehend what is going on around him, while the older man, looking back, can see how silly he was. This older man, who has emerged from his chrysalis, is hardly a butterfly in his style either, however. He makes earnest generalisations about the family and society or about the need to escape from a narcissistic concern with one’s own happiness, in beautifully balanced sentences, although the repetitions tend to weigh them down:

J'avais passé toute ma vie dans le monde le plus pur, le plus chaste et le meilleur qui se pût voir. Toute ma vie, j'avais, à pleins bords, savouré les délices de l'intimité; toute ma vie, enivré par elle, j'avais ignoré l'avenir. (14)

The Antoine who narrates his family's story is mature and somewhat embarrassed by his earlier self. Dialogue allows only two other voices in this brief story: those of his Dominican teacher and the Parisian doctor who becomes his protector. Both are mature men who provide him with guidance when he is young.

Cher enfant, mieux vaut un bon citoyen qu'un mauvais moine! (11)

Enfant ingrat, pourrais-tu donc nous quitter ainsi? ... Écoute, il s'agit de ma fille (13)

The whole text, in fact, is full of men in the role of "cher maître" talking to so-called children. In Antoine's family story, the Dominican has left the army to look for consolation in religion, but recognises the need to be socially responsible. The doctor spends his evenings discussing science, politics and religion with Antoine and talks about women's mission to "améliorer le cœur de l'homme" (13). After the death of his wife, the messages of these two masters eventually get through to the disconsolate Antoine and provide him with a model and it is their voice that Antoine will eventually adopt with Édouard.

In his second role as the occasional commentator within Édouard's narrative, Antoine is the mature man who is studying, and presumably curing, the peoples of the world in order to create a better future for mankind. He is Édouard's "noble maître" (15), a man of some dignity who prays and who has learnt values which he wants to communicate to the world. Free now from selfish passion, his voice is that of a benevolent, thoughtful scholar. Emotional reactions are limited to benevolence as he is a widower who is now only interested in public service. His voice is less varied than Édouard's, for he has the single task of providing information about Maori culture to Édouard and thereby to the inexperienced French reader. The incarnation of kindness and authoritative knowledge, he is paternalistic towards young Édouard ("Enfant"). His sentences are often carefully structured, as befits a mature scholar, with binary contrasts ("le baiser polynésien n'est pas, comme le nôtre"; "C'est au contraire...") and paired adjectives ("presque frivole et sans conséquence") that impart a felicitous rhythm to the sentence. Foley's fondness for expressing things in threes can also be a feature of this very considered style: "les

désirs affectueux sont ordinairement si pâles, si vagues, et si éphémères” (21). He is analytical, rational and moderate.

It is perhaps to keep Antoine’s intervention to a minimum and to give a greater role to the more emotional Édouard and Eki that Foley often prefers their voices to his. There are, for example, passages where Édouard keeps control of the voice, reporting Antoine’s words in indirect speech:

Mon maître m’entretient tous bas. Il me dit les malheurs d’Eki; son grand courage; son savoir et surtout sa grande bonté. Puis il me parle des Mahouris; m’engage à ne me point blesser de leurs façons qui, toujours, choquent de prime abord (55)

Eki is a proud and noble Maori widow whose task it is to describe to someone from another culture the way Maori live and think. This she does through recounting recent family and hence tribal history. Like Antoine’s recent history of France, hers is, to a degree, history from below: the story of someone who is caught up in important events but who is not, herself, a Napoleon or Te Rauparaha. More importantly, it is, like Antoine’s, a history of mentalities, recounting how, with the passing of time, the way people think in a given culture changes. Eki is the representative of a culture which is characterised in Foley’s novel by a heroic mythological world view. Many features of her style express this mode of thinking of a whole culture, while others communicate her personal idiosyncrasies and her particular reactions to events in her life.

Her voice is often and very noticeably marked by short sentences that start on a new line. Her words can look more like lines of poetry, grouped into verses, rather than prose sentences grouped into paragraphs. They are characterised by incantatory repetition and by parallel structures and Eki herself talks of the “précieux poèmes” and the “vers admirables” of the Maori (34). Even if she does not recite authentic Maori waiata, the style Foley has given her is consciously chosen to represent this aspect of her culture: she is said to declaim and to intone (psalmodier) (26). It is a high linguistic register in which she can, for example, speak of herself in the third person in a sophisticated literary manner:

Eki est la plus habile à sculpter le bois!
Eki est la plus adroite à tisser le phormium!
Eki est la plus patiente à tailler le jade!

Quel grigri et quels pendants d'oreilles valent ceux d'Eki? (20)

She speaks as a person of considerable standing within the Maori community who has to insist on this to a person from a different culture who makes hasty judgements based on first impressions. She sees Édouard as a child that she is instructing in Maori ways:

Enfant! comme les yeux d'Akaroa, les tiens sont bleus.
Comme les paroles d'Akaroa, les tiennes sont légères.
Comme le cœur d'Akaroa, le tien est bon.
Comme lui, enfant, je t'aime et t'aimerai toujours. (21)

Such sequences of exclamatory short lines are not a feature of either Édouard's or Antoine's narratives. The short sentences of the two men, when they do occur, generally follow each other within the same paragraph and have no poetic pretensions. On the other hand, the speech of other Maori people shares many of the same characteristics as Eki's, including this propensity for verse-like lines. Several named men (Akaroa I, Akaroa II and Mopou) take a significant part in dialogues and can even have quite long speeches; and, on several occasions, one hears the sustained murmur of a sort of anonymous Maori chorus. When Akaroa I proposes to Iotété's wife, Taia, he employs the same high-flown rhetoric:

Que sert à Taia d'être belle?
Elle n'enfante pas; et son époux la délaisse.
Que sert à Taia d'être la première?
Elle n'enfante pas; et ses compagnons se moquent d'elle.
... Mieux vaudrait, pour elle, être femme d'Akaroa! (22)

Such lines have the function of waiata in traditional Maori stories, appearing often at dramatic moments to crystallise some issue. It is the style of high literature, of epic poetry:

Voyez! Akaroa le victorieux s'avance.
Ses embarcations volent au pas de Tikao.
La crainte s'étale sur toute la baie! (23)

For the Maori, it is a mode of discourse that they can slip into at any moment. It is as if they suddenly change their mood and traditional roles take over:

Et, déjà fier de son triomphe, mon noble époux, l'œil enflammé, entonne enfin un chant de guerre.
Malgré lui, ses bras et ses jambes dansent les gestes du combat.

Malgré lui, mon père vénérable imite son enfant bien-aimé. [...]
 Et, malgré eux, leurs Mahouris [...], furieux à leur tour, ils dansent et
 chantent comme eux deux:
 « Préparez, préparez, enfants du feu, vos fascines légères; mais perfides!
 Préparez, préparez, enfant du feu, vos fouennes lourdes et cruelles! [...] »
 (43)

The chant carries on for thirteen lines, almost sonnet-like in its groupings of lines: a quatrain, followed by three tercets. In this case, it is classified as a war-song that is accompanied by dancing. That is, it is purporting to be a *ngeri*, even though it is not an authentic one. The words “malgré lui” and “malgré eux” indicate that the people concerned are participating in a bonding exercise which releases them from their personal concerns and that this is an emotional moment, not a reasoned analysis. The men are “furieux” and they “suivent la cadence de leurs chefs exaspérés” (43). In Antoine’s family story, he quotes some verses from Corneille’s translation of the *Imitation of Jesus Christ*. They, too, express a desire to sacrifice individual will to something greater but they are less integrated into Antoine’s everyday life and normal speech habits than the verses which are part of ordinary Maori discourse.

The second major distinguishing characteristic of Eki’s narrative is her vocabulary which reflects her specific New Zealand environment. She uses a number of Maori words (*ariki*, *atoua*, *kivi*, *mahouri*, *moa*, *pas*, *patou-patou*, *picopo*, *tabou*, *taipo*, *tatouer*, *toko-toko*, *toui*), which then have to be explained by the French narrators. When other Maori words sometimes seem called for, one wonders whether Foley has not used them because he does not know them or because he does not want to overload his French reader with strange words.

Eki’s frequent images exploit comparisons with aspects of Maori life:

Le chef qui manque de prudence trahit la confiance des siens. Il est comme le patou-patou qui blesse, en se brisant, la main qui le brandit. (29)

Son corps [...] brillait [...] comme [...] brillait, toute flambante encore, la case tabouée des accouchements. (31)

or with local fauna and flora:

Comme un phoque sur un bonite, mon père fond sur Akaroa. (37)

Sa vie est maintenant pendue à un fil plus mince et plus frêle que celui du formium frais. (47)

People are spoken of as if they were the thing being referred to: when Iouikao calls the youthful Akaroa II a “manchot barboteur”, Akaroa II prefers another identification: “je suis un jeune albatros” (44). These indigenous comparisons and identifications are both authentically and systematically done and contrast with the way Antoine uses European analogies to explain Maori ways to Édouard and, thereby, to the French reader: “Ceux qui adoraient Jupiter (exterminateur de Saturne, l’anthropophage du vieux monde) ne raisonnaient pas autrement” (51). Nevertheless, one can find examples of Foley’s failure to keep this distinction between a Maori and a European point of view: Eki talks of tattoo as a “blason maori” (29), when this should really be the sort of comparison that Antoine, for instance, would make. Even so, Eki’s whole narrative is a self-conscious attempt by Foley to get inside the mind and the world-view of a Maori woman. References to characters who place themselves in the position of other characters—“ce discours du grand chasseur, parlant en guise d’Iouikao” (45)—show how aware Foley was of the task he had set himself.

Narration

The short lines of verse are part of a general strategy to give the Maori characters a style which, by the standards of modern European realism, is rather disconnected. Antoine’s long, complex, explanatory sentences and Édouard’s mellifluous descriptions are replaced, when Eki speaks, by mostly simple or compound sentences that impart an almost staccato rhythm:

La honte m’abîme. La pudeur m’exaspère. Je veux insulter et maudire, au moins du regard, l’exécrable chef aux six doigts; ... et voilà que (debout tout près de moi) je le vois plus grand, plus terrible et plus beau que jamais.
Il évoque la colère.
La colère, implacable ennemie de l’irrésolution! Sa gloire, enfin, va prendre son vol! (38)

There is one example of this broken rhythm, with its sudden shifts and its points of suspension, in the story of Antoine’s family. This is the moment when the good doctor expresses his anxieties about his daughter:

Enfant ingrat, pourrais-tu donc nous quitter ainsi? ... Écoute, il s’agit de ma fille, de ma chère... de ma seule enfant! ... Elle avait quelques jours seulement ... Un accident affreux me força de tout oser: elle vécut. (13)

Short sentences are used here to express the disjointedness of deep emotion and the reader may have some difficulty following the line of thought. When such sentences occur in the Maori discourse, it is tempting to see them as part of an attempt to depict Maori as being like children: emotional people who speak without sophistication and who express simple thoughts in simple sentences. Foley does not, however, go so far as to give his Maori characters a pidgin or ungrammatical French of the “Ugh, me Indian” variety, although the abrupt telegraphic message, “Téroupara veut un tribut; qu’on paie : sinon, la guerre!” (22), gets uncomfortably close to this, even if it may perhaps derive from Foley’s observation of the difficulties North Island Maori had in talking to those of the South Island.

Like Édouard, Eki uses short sentences to recount events dramatically—“Il me priait! je refusai” (37)—or simply: “Il dit : tous obéissent” (40). A breathless sequence of short sentences can express various emotions, including alarm and confusion:

Le Magnanime a cessé de vivre. Mopou n’est point de retour : et l’on entend un cri de guerre.
Est-ce un Ariki protecteur? Est-ce au contraire un ennemi.
Faut-il attendre, ou bien s’enfuir? le recevoir ou bien combattre? (39)

Her longer sentences seem often to be just a sequence of short ones:

Le globe de ses yeux est blanc comme la neige; sa pupille étincelante comme un rayon de soleil; son iris fauve et brillant comme la flamme (36)

but they can also have a more complex syntax, especially in descriptive sentences, that expresses subtle thought:

De longs cils, plus noirs que le charbon de tatouage, ont peine, en s’entrecroisant, à modérer son regard. Ses paupières seules parviennent à l’éteindre un peu, en fermant leur parfait ovale. (36)

Eki is herself aware of the way style and rhythm can be used to convey different effects, as she shows in this comment on her husband:

Jamais bouche ne sut, mieux que celle de mon bien-aimé, glisser les doux propos de la persuasion; ou cracher les accents saccadés et sonores de la colère et de l’injure. (36)

It is especially in her descriptions of people and places that she moves furthest away from the “accents saccadés” of strong emotion and achieves a smoothness and elegance that is not unlike Édouard’s:

Comme des plumules blanches, frisées, transparentes et légères autant que des flocons de neige, embellissent la gorge resplendissante et verdâtre du toui coquet; les spirales, gracieuses et diaphanes aussi de sa barbe, encore blonde, ornent la gorge, hâlée déjà, de mon bien-aimé. (36)

Sophistication is not the prerogative of Eki’s longer sentences only. Her short sentences can also have sophisticated inversion: “Seize fois la hauteur d’un homme; voilà sa longueur. Rouge de sang est sa couleur” (24); or unusual, literary word order: “Pour triompher, rarement il lutte.” (24) They can use the rhetorical device of apostrophe to address inanimate objects: “Adieu, beau lac! Adieu, rivage!” (45). Apostrophe of spiritual entities is, in fact, a general feature of her style: “O génies hospitaliers” (28). Personification of abstractions is also quite common: “la sobriété, mère de la force et sœur de la prudence” (27), and can sometimes sound less European and more Maori: “Notre timidité boit votre courage” (27). There is a constant use of the Homeric epithets of classical epic for individuals, including “Akaroa le magnanime” (32), “Mopou le hardi chasseur” (30), “la belle Taia” (23) and “le chef aux six doigts” (20, 32, 39, 41). Groups of people are known as “les enfants du feu” (43, 46), “les fils du feu” (39), “les fils du sol” (29), “les enfants du chaud” and “les enfants du froid” (56). The vocabulary is generally from a high literary register: “le bruit de ton trépas” (25); “le sang des Iouikao étanchera ta jalousie” (38); “sa marche altière” (44). This means that, while short, abrupt, often exclamatory, sentences dominate Eki’s discourse, her style is also generally literary and can vary in its rhythms to suit the occasion and the effects that Foley is trying to produce.

The predominant staccato rhythm that is found at sentence level can also be seen as related to another rather disconcerting phenomenon: the ellipses in Eki’s narration. These are quite deliberate on Foley’s part, for he talks of the “bizarres [...] coupures” (34) of her speech that he has deliberately retained. He has her change suddenly in her mood:

Sa voix était devenue lente et plaintive, en prononçant ces derniers mots. Mais tout à coup elle reprit, avec sa volubilité première (20)

She interrupts her storytelling as a result of being overcome by a strong emotion and then resumes it a little later. These impetuous actions and mood swings are psychologically justified and are part of Eki's characterisation. Less successful is the assertion that Eki, at one time, omits part of what she had intended to tell the two Frenchmen (25). This comes over as a gratuitous remark, even if it is in line with her sudden mood shifts, for we have no inkling of what was omitted and why. Perhaps this is Foleÿ saying that there is much more to Maori culture than he is able to express in this work.

At least potentially more disturbing are some important actions in the narrative for which no explanation is provided. Such events without apparent causes could be seen as indicative of very poor plotting on Foleÿ's part. The chapter entitled "À-Dieu-vat!"—a technical naval expression meaning "About ship!"—explicitly draws the reader's attention to such a sudden shift and is a good example of what seems to be an unexplained reversal in Eki's feelings and thoughts. Although this is such a crucial point in her life, it is not easy to work out exactly what happens and why. In the previous chapter, "Amour et ... délire", Akaroa II asks Eki to have sex with him:

« Akaroa; que me veux-tu? »
 « Ce qu'un mari veut à sa femme. » (37)

They have spent much of their lives together: he is the "compagnon de mon enfance" (36) but Akaroa II, characterised from birth by his "force" and his "malice" (33), has been rough with her, even when he was a baby, and often hurt her in the aggressive games he liked playing. His "propos inconsidérés" (34) about his own father's inadequacies are not a sign of good judgement but, on the other hand, he has treated Eki as his special confidante and she, despite her refusal to join in his acts of aggression against others, calls him "mon petit bien-aimé" (33).

Just before Eki recounts how Akaroa II asks her to bear his child, she describes the beauty of his body in considerable detail and in a distinctly sensual manner: "sa figure [...] est belle : si belle, que, maintenant encore, mes yeux se mouillent de larmes, en se la rappelant" (36). Akaroa II is seen as attractive when he is pleading but also, significantly, when he is angry (37). When he makes his proposition, she is standing naked in his arms and feeling all sorts of strange sensations and emotions:

Ses yeux ardents troublaient ma tête.
 Sa main égarée sur mon sein m'inondait de frissons étranges.
 Une angoisse horrible m'empêchait de fuir. (37)

Despite a quite positive and sensual context, however, when Akaroa II asks her to be a wife to him, Eki refuses. He then implores her to feel compassion for him, but she just trembles and says nothing. He goes on to outline all the suffering that he has gone through and, for a third time, asks her to bear his child before his persecutors kill him. “Il me priait! je refusai.” (37) Her negative reaction is that of an embarrassed virgin. She talks of “honte” as well as “angoisse” and when, in his frustration, Akaroa II eventually becomes angry, she is repelled by “sa rage, sa lubricité détestables” (37) and calls on her father, Mopou, to protect her from her libidinous suitor. The two men fight. “Le jeune homme se relève seul : Et ma vie suit celle de mon père” (37). What is Eki (or Foley) trying to say?

Neither Mopou nor Eki is dead: Maori move between the world of the living and the dead as, in European terms, they lose consciousness and dream. The French reader may well be confused at this point. When Eki returns to consciousness, she finds that she and her father are trussed up as if they were about to be sacrificed. She is in pain and Akaroa's men are whispering among themselves and making lewd jokes that make Eki realise why she is experiencing “les douleurs atroces qui me torturent aux entrailles” (38). Akaroa II has had intercourse with her while she was unconscious.

La honte m'abîme. La pudeur m'exaspère. Je veux insulter et maudire, au moins du regard, l'exécrable chef aux six doigts (38)

The phrase “au moins du regard” seems amazingly controlled in such a situation. Moreover, in the same sentence, she finds him wildly attractive:

et voilà que (debout, tout près de moi) je le vois plus grand, plus terrible et plus beau que jamais. (38)

It also seems strange for Akaroa II to leave Eki, if she is now his wife, tied up while he talks of war and sets off to supplant his father and plan a war against Iouikao. Eki seems amazingly forgiving, saying that “Ses paroles seules furent coupables, en cette journée ... si odieuse le matin, mais si adorable le soir!” (38) No fault is found with his actions. When he takes over from his father, he asserts his authority over the tribe and uses Eki and her father as examples of what happens to anyone who opposes

him. His words make it at last unequivocal to the reader that Eki is no longer a virgin:

Voyez Mopou! Voyez Eki!!
 Le père combattait pour sa fille! La fille ... pour sa virginité!
 Les forces de l'un où sont-elles? Où trouver la pureté de l'autre? (40)

The conquering of a woman seems no different from making war on an enemy. Despite this public humiliation of Eki and her family, it is at this moment that Akaroa II orders their release and declares that Eki is his wife:

Délivrez Mopou, c'est mon père!
 Délivrez Éa: c'est ma mère!
 Délivrez Eki: c'est ma femme! (40)

He then turns his attention to other matters: his father's funeral. As he goes about the various ceremonies, Eki calls him "mon noble époux" (40). Akaroa II is the odious lover in the morning and the adored husband in the evening. He also changes from being an outcast at the time he propositions Eki to being the tribal chief when he declares that she is his wife, which may make him more acceptable in her eyes.

Eki seems to be accepting non-consensual sexual intercourse as normal in this warrior society. Just before this episode she had been explaining that men, with their larger brains and stronger bodies, are by nature superior to women (35). The forced sexual intercourse may be regarded as just a painful process that a woman has to go through if she is to become a wife and mother. The other intriguing element hovering in the background of this episode is Eki's revelation that, on this same day that she became Akaroa's wife, she experienced a form of religious ecstasy:

Là [au radieux séjour des étoiles], pour la première fois de ma vie; je fus transportée (moi aussi!) le matin même du jour où mon bien-aimé se fit chef et moi ... femme. (36)

The word "séduction" is used to describe this form of possession by spirits, leading the reader to wonder whether Eki experienced not only desire and contentment that day, but also, when she was supposedly unconscious ("dead" in Maori terms), sexual pleasure, which Foley is too coy to speak about openly and clearly. However, such an interpretation is not consistent with the order in which events are related, making it less than certain. Even if the act of sexual intercourse can, perhaps, be viewed in more positive terms than Eki or Foley is willing to explain, there is no shortage of

other indignities to which she is subjected that day. Facing her own death and the death of her parents at the hands of her childhood friend would seem to be, for Eki, just one of the things that happen. One can see this whole episode as an example of Foley's ability to identify with a woman in traditional Maori society. It can also be seen as a very difficult episode for a French reader to follow. The sudden turn-about in her feelings and status, which Foley draws the reader's attention to in the chapter title, "À-Dieu-vat!", remains unexplained and becomes part of the complexity of Eki's character.

Similarly bereft of explicit motivation are nearly all of the decisions of Akaroa I and Akaroa II to join battle with other tribes. They are rarely referred to as the result of some particular affront, as was usual in traditional Maori society. Akaroa I's decision to take over Iotété's tribe and fight against Téroupara is exceptional in being carefully motivated. Because Téroupara has demanded tribute and Iotété is not prepared to stand up to him, Akaroa takes over the leadership of the tribe and defeats Téroupara by attacking his pa in his absence. Akaroa I had destroyed his own houses and crops so that Téroupara could not seize them and use them and this deliberate action contributes to the failure of Téroupara's attempted attack, which is thwarted by "les vents, les vagues et la famine" (23), for when his fleet arrives at Akaroa I's abandoned pa, there is nothing for Téroupara's men to eat. All the same, even in this episode, Foley relies upon a *deus ex machina* device in having Téroupara's fleet destroyed by a storm. This is, of course, not an unlikely event and had precedents in recent Maori history: a Ngai Tahu fleet, for example, went north to attack Te Rauparaha in the 1830s but, when Tu-te-hou-nuku's canoe capsized in Cook Strait and the paramount chief's son was drowned with all his men, the fleet turned back and the attack was not continued.² Credible in historical terms, the convenient destruction of Téroupara's fleet is not satisfactory in terms of nineteenth-century European realism, which has turned away from the purely chronological sequences of the picaresque novel of the early eighteenth century, with its reliance on chance and coincidence that Voltaire was mocking already in *Candide*. What EM Forster

² Stack, "Maori History", in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, pp.49-50.

calls plot, as opposed to story, requires cause and effect, purposefulness and a psychological justification for major actions.³

The lack of motivation is even more marked in later military expeditions. Akaroa I goes on to attack Tikao's pa on Banks Peninsula, a long way from his home which is somewhere near the Bay of Plenty area of the North Island. Having destroyed his home settlement, he certainly has to take both his own people and the conquered people of Téroupara somewhere, but there seems to have been no planning and foresight, and no reason to select this particular site and tribe. Tikao is not depicted as Téroupara's ally, for example, or as the possessor of a desirable source of food to replace what they had lost on leaving their traditional home. It would have been easy, later on in the text, to justify Akaroa II's attack on Iouikao's pa, but once again there is no reason given to justify it, no act of provocation, no reason for choosing this pa among all the pa in New Zealand.

The situation is made worse by a vagueness and perhaps a confusion about time and place. Akaroa II was born after Akaroa I's defeat of Tikao, for Eki's memories of Akaroa I's conquest of Banks Peninsula are not as good as her memories of this more recent event. This is the clear implication of the *ne que* in "Mon premier souvenir ne remonte qu'à la nuit terrible où mon noble époux prit naissance" (30). The birth of Akaroa II seems, however, to take place in "l'ancien pas de Iotété" (31), which is at the foot of a mountain visible from a ship that is somewhere to the north of East Cape. His dying mother is surrounded by the dead bodies and devastation that were the result of extensive volcanic activity. This massive natural disaster is seen as an expression of Maui's jealousy at the birth of someone who will be his rival (although there is also an allusion to Maui's earlier archetypal fight with the giant which, we learn later, took place on Banks Peninsula). The implication seems to be that, after conquering Tikao on Banks Peninsula, Akaroa I had returned to the home that he had laid waste—and did so, without suffering from famine. However, the young Akaroa II is soon challenging his father's mana and is banished from Banks Peninsula: "La presqu'île, aussitôt, redevint sûre et tranquille" (34). At some point they have shifted once again to living in the South Island, where Iouikao has replaced Tikao as the nearby chief who is to be defeated, even though Akaroa I has

³ EM Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, 1962.

conquered the whole coast. Akaroa II is “l’Ariki du feu” and his men are “les enfants du feu” or “les enfants des boues salutaires” (29) because they come from the foot of a volcano in the North Island’s “marais sulfureux” (30), whereas Iouikao’s men are the tangata whenua, “les fils du sol” (29).

The lack of a specific reason for attacking Tikao and Iouikao can be explained and justified by the depiction of Maori chiefs and warriors as men whose everyday life is one of making war. It is in fighting that they achieve their sense of worth. In her accounts of war, Eki often distinguishes between the noble motives of the chiefs and the less worthy motives of the ordinary warriors. The chiefs are concerned with “gloire” (27, 28, 31, 33, 38, 41, 44). They have ambition (28) and pride (45), they are “jaloux de conquérir” (29), they wish to impose their will on others (39) or extend their protection over other tribes (29). On the other hand, ordinary warriors and mere slaves have “instincts grossiers” (27) which include cannibalistic gluttony (26). Both chiefs and ordinary men are included when Eki says that “la violence et la rapine séduisent les Mahouris” (34), however, and Akaroa II is as interested in pillaging as his followers (34, 39). Similarly, a state of frenetic arousal seems to be shared by both men and chiefs, for they can be “écumant de rage” (38), have “l’œil en feu et l’écume aux lèvres” (33)⁴ and “un sang trop bouillant” (28): “ardeur” and “furieux” are commonly used words. When a whole society is at the stage in its evolution where war is endemic, there seems little reason for justifying any particular battle. As the book’s sub-title indicates, Tou-Mataouengha is the god of “les cruels humains”. No reasons are given in Antoine’s story for the battle of Fontenoy, the French Revolution or the Peninsular War, so why should Eki supply them for the conquests of Akaroa I and Akaroa II?

More serious are two other ellipses in Eki’s narrative: Iotété and Akaroa I die very conveniently when their successors require this to happen, without any explanation being given. When Iotété is too cowardly to stand up to Téroupara, Akaroa I tells Taia that he is a man of courage who will replace Iotété as her husband since this is the will of the great Maui. “Le lendemain Iotété mourut” (23). A tribal council is

⁴ Whether Foley knew that the name of the Maori god of war can be translated as “Tu of the flashing eyes” or “red-eyed Tu” is hard to ascertain. It was not translated by Grey in that part of his *Polynesian Mythology* that Foley translated into French.

held and Akaroa I is appointed as their new leader. What is Eki's listener expected to think? That Akaroa I killed his rival?

Exactly the same situation arises when Akaroa I grows older and less able to lead his men. The banished young Akaroa II believes that his turn has come and decides to return to his father's pa:

Tandis que la joie, l'enthousiasme, l'espoir de vaincre et butiner guident le jeune Akaroa; la tristesse et le découragement, la crainte du pillage et la terreur du massacre abîment le pas de son vieux père.
Le Magnanime a cessé de vivre. (39)

It is easy to interpret this at first as a metaphor: Akaroa I is no longer living a full life. However, we soon learn that he is literally "défunt" (40) and the appropriate funeral ceremonies are held. Akaroa II and his men are still some distance from his father's village when the death takes place and so we are not meant to see this as some sort of discreet killing. People do die of old age and Maori life expectancy was very limited, but this comes over as grossly inadequate plotting on Foley's part.

However, even here there are possible justifications for what Foley has done. Eki herself, for example, has shown how she can prophesy that she will die within a month after deciding that her life on earth has no meaning any more and she wishes to join her ancestors in the sky. Dying holds no fears for a Maori who believes that the living and the dead co-exist: Eki visits her dead relatives in the night and says, very early in her story, that "Eki est, à la fois, morte et vivante" (20). Both Iotété and Akaroa I have similarly arrived at a point in their lives when they have nothing more to live for and are overwhelmed by the task of continuing to live. All are examples of the Maori proverb, "Hinga atu he tete kura, ara mai he tete kura" ("When one chief falls another rises").⁵ Foley, however, cannot expect his readers to draw conclusions from such parallels without some indication that this is his intention.

Foley has, on the other hand, pointed quite explicitly to the disjointed nature of Eki's narration, making it clear that it is deliberate. This means that another possible explanation for these ellipses in Eki's story is that Foley is giving her narrative this feature because she is not writing in the nineteenth-century European realist tradition

⁵ Mead and Grove, *Nga Pepeha a nga Tipuna*, 2001, #852. Literally: "When a dead frond falls, a young shoot uncoils".

but is telling a Maori story in traditional oral fashion. Traditional Maori stories can often appear incoherent and illogical to a reader who is used to modern European realism.⁶ A character can suddenly be in a totally different place, without any explanation of how he got there. “Normal” chronology is not necessarily respected: a character may meet his father before he himself is born. In the story of Tane, for example, Tane has many adventures including one in which he finds stars to put on his father, Rangi, as decoration. However, he finds that his father is injured. When Rangi gets better, he then fathers a number of children, among whom is Tane, who subsequently lifts Rangi up to form the sky.⁷ Explaining the nature of the universe, the earth and the sky, the presence of stars in the sky, is what dictates narrative order, not chronological coherence.

The architecture of oral literature, whether Maori or ancient Greek, has been described as “a main line of events with extensive appositional expansion”.⁸ The non-observance of modern western progressive chronology can be explained by the way both Maori and the ancient Greeks saw the past as being in front of them, not behind them. The preposition “mua”, for example, means “in front of” and, therefore, “formerly” or “in the past”. Events from the past were chosen to determine action in the present. Patterns of motifs are the important components of an oral story’s structure, not a psychologically determined, chronological series of actions. To the modern European reader, events seem to occur without reason in a world that seems to have no sense of duration, but in which the present and the past seem to coincide. In such a context, the sudden convenient deaths of Iotété and Akaroa I are not out of place. They would, however, appear as technical blemishes to Foley’s Parisian reader in 1874. When Grey published his *Polynesian Mythology* in London in 1855, he often adapted the stories slightly to make them more coherent, presented events in chronological order and simplified some of the repetitive chanting rhythms of the originals.⁹ Even so, the style remained sufficiently authentic for Foley to use it as one of his models when composing Eki’s narration.

⁶ See Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist*, 1987, p.22.

⁷ C Tremewan (ed), *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand*, 2002, chapter 3.

⁸ Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist*, 1987, p.78.

⁹ Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist*, 1987, pp.73-5. Grey’s Maori informant, Te Rangikaheke, had already done some of this adapting for a Pakeha reader.

5

THE LITERARY CONTEXT

Classical European models

Believing as he did that the Maori were going through a phase in human history that Europeans had been through many centuries earlier, Foley felt able to use early European literary works to help convey the Maori world view. Agathe Thornton has shown just how much oral Maori literature does indeed share with the literature of Homer and Hesiod, from the fact that the early Greek writers were part of an oral, rather than written, tradition.¹ In particular, she mentions the extensive use of dialogue and direct speech, the organisation of paragraphs and longer sections into twos or threes, the symmetrical arrangement and balancing of parts, the foreshadowing of later events, repetitions and insistent rhythms, and the use of “appositional” expansion rather than simple chronological sequencing. All of these general characteristics of oral literature are to be found in *Eki* and more especially in that part of the text that has been narrated by Eki herself. Although it is not as extensive as the constant prophesying of Greek and Latin epics, the foreshadowing is there: Eki, for example, announces the conquests of Akaroa I and II before telling the detail of their lives, and she foretells her own death. We have noted examples of incantatory repetition and parallel structures and Foley employs very extensive repetition. It is everywhere in Eki’s speech:

Déjà; ils sont par le travers du morne!
 Déjà; ils le dépassent!
 Déjà; ils rencontrent l’isthme!
 Déjà; ils débarquent! (25)

Other Maori, in this case Mopou, speak in the same way:

Soufflez, soufflez, enfants du feu, soufflez que vos brandons s’enflamment
 (46)

One could quote Latin examples of a fondness for threes:

¹ Thornton, *Maori Oral Literature as Seen by a Classicist*, 1987, passim.

Should her [Troy's] walls thrice rise in bronze with Phoebus' help, thrice shall they perish, destroyed by my Argive warriors; thrice shall the captive wife mourn her husband and her children.²

and see them as precedents for the wide range of examples in Foley:

Trois fois, donc, il était taboué.
Donc trois fois on le vénérât. (22)

Ses lèvres, minces et vermeilles, par trois fois, s'abaissent; et par trois fois aussi, se relèvent, en s'ondulant gracieuses sur elles-mêmes. (36)

A large part of Eki's story-telling is taken up by dialogue and direct speech. Akaroa I's wooing of Taia takes the form of a speech which he gives and repeats and which Taia can only echo (23). The preparation of war against Iouikao is presented in two lively discussions between Akaroa II and Mopou, the latter eventually putting himself in the position of Iouikao and challenging Akaroa to match his arguments while Akaroa's confidence ebbs and flows (41-6). Classical Greek and Latin works provide possible models for all the features of oral narration that we have observed in *Eki*.

On points of detail, one can find echoes in *Eki* from ancient Greek and Latin stories. This could be seen as fortuitous for the very reasons that, in a discussion of the similarities between Maori and European mythology, Foley places in the mouth of Antoine:

Les idées de l'homme se forment, en suivant des lois invariables. Son cerveau est partout le même. C'est en voyant, aux mêmes âges, les mêmes objets et les mêmes faits se reproduire, qu'il a les mêmes conceptions. (51)

However, by the very fact that he names Saturn, Jupiter and Apollo as equivalents to figures in Maori myths (51), Foley shows that he had both cultures in mind as he wrote. Another French visitor to New Zealand, Dumont d'Urville, saw a knowledge of Virgil as the litmus test of a person's proper education³ and Foley would have known such classical texts very well.

The very name of "Akaroa le magnanime" links him to the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome. The classical Latin word 'magnanimus' was used to describe 'great-souled' heroes. Although it was applied by different authors to many different

² Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, lines 65-8.

³ Dumont d'Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, pp.27-8.

heroes, it was notably used in Virgil's *Aeneid* to describe the heroes of the Trojan War, the founders of new cities and Aeneas himself:

sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean

and thou shalt raise on high to the starry heaven
great-souled Aeneas.⁴

This quotation also shows that, like Foley's Maori, Virgil's Romans believed that the greatest mortals become stars in the sky. There are thus Classical as well as Maori precedents for Foley's depiction of members of the Akaroa family as the different stars of a constellation. In Maori lore, the left eye of a hero could become a star. In classical Greek and Roman lore, certain heroes (Castor and Pollux) became individual stars in the sky, but it was more usual for them to become constellations, such as Hercules, and in one case, two generations of a family became four contiguous constellations (Cepheus, Cassiopeia, Andromeda, Perseus). The individual stars of the Hyades and Pleiades were women, and, according to one explanation, the name Hyades derives from the fact that the stars are all the daughters of Hyas and Beotia, while the Pleiades get their name because they are the daughters of Plione and Atlas. When praising the emperor Augustus Caesar, Horace depicted him as destined to become a star in the sky, and this was exaggerated by Lucan when praising his terrifying patron, Nero.⁵

Similarly, there is classical as well as Maori precedent for Foley's story of the fight between Maui and the giant that explains the creation of Banks Peninsula. The Greek gods under Zeus fought against the Titans and then the giants. This involved throwing mountains and pinning the Titans and giants beneath them. Poseidon pursued Polybutes across the sea, flung the island of Nisyros on top of him and buried him. Athene buried Enceladus under the island of Sicily, with the result that, when the giant turns over, the entire island quakes.

The story is told that huge Enceladus, whom the bolt of thunder charred, lies crushed under Etna's mass and that the enormous volcano stands there above him, breathing flames from its bursting furnaces, and, each time that

⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 259-60.

⁵ Horace, *Odes*, III, iii, lines 9-12; Lucan, *De bello civili / Pharsalia*, I, lines 33-67; see Hygin, *L'Astronomie*, 1983.

Enceladus tires and turns over, all Sicily quakes and growls and veils the sky with smoke.⁶

Zeus, after a desperate struggle, overcame Typhon and hurled Mount Etna on top of him, crushing him beneath it.

The crash sets high Prochyta quaking, and Inarime too, the island laid upon Typhoeus by Jove's command to make his resting hard.⁷

Certain variants of such stories that explain earthquakes and volcanic eruptions⁸ are very close to Foley's story of Maui and Banks Peninsula, although they do not explain the formation of particular, named bays and lakes.

It is possible too that the shape of Eki's story is meant to reproduce that of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas is a great warrior who, as a result of war against the Greeks, is forced to leave Troy and seek a new home in Italy where the new city of Rome will be founded after repeated battles against the local inhabitants under Mezentius and Turnus. Similarly, Akaroa I is a great warrior who is forced to leave Iotété's pa in the north as a result of Térourapa's attack and settle on Banks Peninsula, where he fights against Tikao and where Akaroa II fights against Iouikao.

The call of glory and the fury of war are the same for the Trojan and Maori heroes. Like Foley's Maori warriors, the warriors of the *Aeneid*, whichever side they are on, are depicted as full of fury and rage: "in him there rioted the bloodthirsty lust of the blade, the accursed lunacy of war"; "the Rutulian's spasms of fury".⁹ Pillaging and conquest are seen as normal warrior behaviour. As in *Eki*, making war and the pursuit of fame are contrasted favourably with "comfort and self-indulgence" and "wasteful leisure".¹⁰ It is the Cyclopes, instead of the Maori slave warriors, who give themselves up to drunkenness and are surrounded by vomit and filth after victory.¹¹ Aeneas's mother, the goddess Venus, is already playing the same Positivist role as Eki, trying to restrain the war-crazed Aeneas.¹² At the end of the Latin epic, after his adversary, Turnus, had acted like a gentleman and ceded any right to the hand of

⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 578-82.

⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 715-6.

⁸ Larousse *Encyclopedia of Mythology*, 1959, p.96-7; Jenny March, *Cassell's Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, p.400.

⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 461; IX, 65-6.

¹⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 193-4, 271.

¹¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 630-3.

¹² Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 594-600.

Lavinia, Aeneas, “boiling with rage, [...] buried his blade full in Turnus’ breast”.¹³ This arguably gives Virgil’s epic the same over-arching theme as Foley was trying to give *Eki*: a critique of a culture in which war is the dominant expression of manhood.

Many moments in *Eki* seem to be reminiscences of similar scenes in the *Aeneid*. Just as Eki looks fondly on Édouard because his eyes, words and heart remind her of Akaroa III, Andromache tells Aeneas’s son, Ascanius, that “all that is left to me of my Astyanax is his likeness to you. His eyes, his face and his movements were just like yours.”¹⁴ The silent, lifeless valley of the Petit Lac where Eki’s grotto is to be found and where over-flying birds lose their voice (50) resembles the area around the grotto of Apollo’s priestess, with its lake over which “no birds could wing a straight course without harm” and which the Greeks named Aornos, the Birdless.¹⁵ Aeneas, like Akaroa II, is often depicted as pausing to think through his options. In both works there is a choice between open, manly fighting, including single combat between champions, and the use of cunning. Fire-brands are successfully used to attack fortified positions at important moments in both books. Where Virgil compares the march of warriors to swans returning from pasture,¹⁶ Foley—otherwise inexplicably—compares the movements of Maori warriors to kiwis going out to, and then returning from, pasture (38). Aeneas is often described as being high on the quarterdeck of his boat while his men row, just as Akaroa I is described, in a most unMaori way, as seated on a throne above his men in his canoe (24). More than once in each work, one finds the motif of the old king who is no longer able to fight. Just as, after Eki dies, her body is attacked by birds of prey and wild dogs (55-6), this is the fate of the unburied in the *Aeneid*: “Alas, you now lie in a strange land, flung out to be prey for the dogs and vultures of Latium”.¹⁷

However, it is not just Greek and Latin authors who provide Foley with models. A more recent French work which had rewritten a classical epic for a modern reader was cited by Foley’s friend, Charles Meryon, as an inspiration for Foley’s writing of

¹³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII, 950-1.

¹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 489-90.

¹⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 240-2.

¹⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 699-700.

¹⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX, 485-6.

a work of fiction about the New Zealand Maori.¹⁸ This is Fénelon's *Télémaque*, the exemplar of the modern French didactic novel. *Télémaque*, said Fénelon, "est une narration fabuleuse en forme de poème héroïque comme ceux d'Homère et de Virgile, où j'ai mis les principales instructions qui conviennent à un prince que sa naissance destine à régner."¹⁹ It was one of several works which Fénelon wrote for his young pupil, the duc de Bourgogne, heir to the throne of France.

The basic situation in *Télémaque* is very similar to that in Foley's *Eki*, in that there is an older, experienced man, Mentor (actually the goddess Minerve in disguise, a situation which could perhaps be compared to Dr Antoine being a secret stand-in for Maître A+B), accompanying a younger, immature but inherently worthy man, Édouard/Télémaque, who is travelling to fabulous, far-off lands in search of wisdom. This is achieved through experiencing the diversity but fundamental sameness of the world. In both works, the young learner has an important narrating role.

Mentor is looking after the young Télémaque until he meets up with his father, Ulysse, just as Dr Antoine is standing in for the father-figure Maître A+B. Mentor does not tell Télémaque that he is really Minerve in disguise as that would provide him with too much security and prevent him from learning for himself.²⁰ Similarly, Dr Antoine does not divulge that it is thanks to a secret agreement with Maître A+B that he is with Édouard. *Télémaque* focuses on the wisdom of Mentor and the progress of Télémaque towards being worthy of his father: "Allez, vous êtes maintenant digne de marcher sur ses pas," says Minerve at the end of the book.²¹ *Eki* is similarly concerned with the progress Édouard makes towards the wisdom that has already been acquired by the father-figure Antoine—and, in a Positivist twist, by the mother-figure, Eki.

Tu m'as enseigné les douleurs de ceux qui nous ont précédés.
 Tu m'as fait songer au bonheur de ceux qui doivent nous succéder.
 Par le passé, par l'avenir; tu nous as fait communier avec toute l'humanité.
 (56)

¹⁸ Meryon to Admiral Reynaud, 8 Dec 1864 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes, Yb³ 1673 Res, pièce 42). See also Geffroy, *Charles Meryon*, 1926, p.158. Although Meryon, perhaps mistakenly, called the work *Etaka*, the remark applies to the work that Foley did eventually publish, *Eki*.

¹⁹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.29.

²⁰ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.170.

²¹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.504.

Télémaque and Mentor meet Calypso on an exotic island, where Calypso is alone, lamenting the man she loved (Ulysse), and looking at Télémaque as a possible replacement. Dr Antoine and Édouard similarly meet Eki, who laments Akaroa II and is fond of Édouard because he reminds her of her son. The abandoned and lonely woman is a motif in both works. Like Calypso, Eki is in a sense immortal, “à la fois morte et vivante” (18). Calypso lives in a grotto,²² Eki is associated with one. On the other hand, Édouard is not tempted by Eki and her defiant nakedness, whereas Télémaque feels Calypso’s seductive powers.²³ Unlike Calypso²⁴, Eki is not a temptress but more of a mother-figure, or even grandmother-figure, for Édouard. Édouard emphasises the physical uncouthness of Eki when she embraces him, whereas Calypso represents the danger of a “beauté modeste”.²⁵ Because Positivists saw women as ministering angels rather than temptresses, the figure of Calypso—if she was indeed Foley’s model—is completely transformed in Foley’s work. Calypso listens to Télémaque’s story much more than she tells her own, whereas Eki does nearly all the narrating when she is with Édouard and Dr Antoine.

Both *Télémaque* and *Eki* are multi-generational. Télémaque is looking for his father, Ulysse, and this leads him to go through the same adventures as his father until, in the last words of the book, he “reconnut son père chez le fidèle Eumée”.²⁶ *Eki*, in the same way, describes how young Édouard becomes Eki’s “fils étranger” and in the end inherits her worldly goods and her wisdom. Akaroa II also follows in the warrior footsteps of Akaroa I, while Dr Antoine is conscious of the examples of his father and grandfather. Maître A+B is in the background as a father-figure for Édouard and may also be one of the generous people who have given Dr Antoine’s life meaning. The Trojan war with all its heroes is in the immediate past of *Télémaque*, creating a world divided between the two adversaries. Wars fought by Akaroa I and II against Térupara, Tikao and Iouikao constitute the immediate past for Eki when she tells her story to the two Frenchmen. Antoine’s grandfather’s heroism at Fontenoy, his father’s involvement in the French Revolution and his own experience of the Peninsular War provide a similar background of war for Édouard. In Fénelon’s and

²² Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.122.

²³ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.175.

²⁴ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.171.

²⁵ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.173.

²⁶ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.506.

Foley's works there is war in the past and a concern for peace and prosperity in the present and future.

The numerous battles are just as cruel in the ancient Mediterranean as in nineteenth-century New Zealand:

Ils brûlent notre vaisseau; dans le premier emportement, ils égorgent tous nos compagnons : ils ne réservent que Mentor et moi pour nous présenter à Aceste, afin qu'il pût savoir de nous quels étaient nos desseins et d'où nous venions. Nous entrons dans la ville avec les mains liées derrière le dos, et notre mort n'était retardée que pour nous servir de spectacle à un peuple cruel quand on saurait que nous étions Grecs.²⁷

The Trojans "répandraient avec plaisir le sang du fils d'Ulysse".²⁸ Mentor and Télémaque, Eki and her parents, are saved at the last minute from being sacrificed:

on y avait dressé deux autels où le feu sacré était allumé; le glaive qui devait nous percer était devant nos yeux; on nous avait couronnés de fleurs, et nulle compassion ne pouvait garantir notre vie. C'était fait de nous, quand Mentor demanda tranquillement à parler au roi²⁹

Adraste is bloodthirsty³⁰ and there is no shortage of vengeance (utu for the Maori) in the ancient world: "il faut que vous alliez le venger".³¹

When Akaroa I's canoes pass those of his enemy Téroupara without being noticed, it is similar to the Greeks concealing their identity as they pass the Trojans at sea:

il se hâta de mettre sur notre poupe des couronnes de fleurs semblables; il les attacha lui-même avec des bandelettes de la même couleur que celles de Troyens; il ordonna à tous nos rameurs de se baisser le plus qu'ils pourraient le long de leurs bancs, pour n'être point reconnus des ennemis. En cet état, nous passâmes au milieu de leur flotte³²

The use of fire to attack a strong position also has a precedent in Adraste's attack on Télémaque and his allies³³ as well as in the *Aeneid*, but this was, of course, a common Maori tactic as well, used during the Ngati Toa attack on Kaiapoi, for example.

²⁷ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.74-5.

²⁸ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.72.

²⁹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.76.

³⁰ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.358.

³¹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.72.

³² Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.74.

³³ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.357.

Both *Télémaque* and *Eki* are vehemently opposed to war, even if Positivism sees the wars of the past as a necessary step towards progress and definitive peace. “La guerre est le plus grand des maux dont les dieux affligent les hommes,” says Fénelon’s Mentor³⁴, for it causes death, dissension and misery. Both works see all peoples of the world as closely linked by a common humanity.

Tout le genre humain n’est qu’une famille dispersée sur la face de toute la terre. Tous les peuples sont frères et doivent s’aimer comme tels. Malheur à ces impies qui cherchent une gloire cruelle dans le sang de leurs frères, qui est leur propre sang!³⁵

Télémaque prefers a peaceful king who can rule well to a king who can fight well.³⁶ Mentor criticises Idoménée for preferring war to diplomacy and peaceful coexistence.³⁷ Even so, there is such a thing as a just war for Fénelon: a king must be ready for war and men must be strong, active and skilled in the arts of war, so as to help their allies or defend their lands.

Télémaque is against gratuitous war that impoverishes, but, like the *Aeneid*, it is also against the softness and self-indulgence of an inactive life of luxury and *Eki* has a similar concern with the satisfactions of physical pleasure that prevent the individual from aspiring to moral improvement. A ruler, says Fénelon, should ensure the well-being of his subjects by encouraging agriculture, commerce, and numerous children.³⁸ He should not be concerned with personal aggrandisement in the form of grand palaces or with making himself feared by keeping his subjects in a state of submission and by imposing heavy taxes. Simplicity, virtue, good judgement, reason, a general high standard of living, happiness of the many, learning and physical fitness are all prized: “aime ton peuple, déteste la flatterie, et sache que tu ne seras grand qu’autant que tu seras modéré et courageux pour vaincre tes passions”.³⁹ ‘Fureur’ (“comme les Bacchantes”) is a very negative mental state in Fénelon, both in love and in war.⁴⁰

³⁴ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.246.

³⁵ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.257-8.

³⁶ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.153-4.

³⁷ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.241-3.

³⁸ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.266-7.

³⁹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.88.

⁴⁰ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.347.

In contrast to *Télémaque* which praises the simple life of shepherds who are seen as happier and more fortunate than kings and the gods,⁴¹ Foley shows a keen awareness of the grimness of Maori life. La Bétique is, for Fénelon, a model society where people are busy and happy and live simply. The Golden Age lives on there, where people are free and equal, with all property held in common, and where war does not exist.⁴² This dream of peace and prosperity may be the future, but is certainly not the present, of Foley's New Zealand. Crete is seen by Fénelon as a model society, thanks to the wise laws of Minos.⁴³ This is closer to Foley's view of Maori society with its complex laws of tapu imposed by Maui. Even so, Foley's Maori do not share all the values attributed by Fénelon to Crete and, in particular, "la paix":

Les grands biens des Crétois sont la santé, la force, le courage, la paix et l'union des familles, la liberté de tous les citoyens, l'abondance des choses nécessaires, le mépris des superflues, l'habitude du travail et l'horreur de l'oisiveté, l'émulation pour la vertu, la soumission aux lois, et la crainte des justes dieux.⁴⁴

It is the simple life of Philoclès, sculpting statues of the gods in his grotto, sleeping on a mat, "une natte de jonc grossier", and having no need to shut his door because he possesses nothing of value,⁴⁵ which is very like the life of Banks Peninsula Maori and of Eki herself, even if the life of the Cretans, not of the Maori, would be Foley's model for the future.

A basic difference between Fénelon's *Télémaque* and Foley's *Eki* is that *Télémaque* becomes involved with the people he meets on his travels: his life is often in danger, he is captured, he takes sides in battles and he resolves disputes. Édouard, however, simply observes and listens. At most he helps ensure that Eki's last wishes are carried out ("deux amis vengeurs", 54) and, because Eki loves him for being like her dead son, inherits some of her personal possessions. Unlike *Télémaque*, however, Édouard is not tested by love in the form of sensual temptation. Love is present between Eki and Akaroa II, but it is much more down to earth, sensual but subordinated to broader ambitions of glory or service, rather than a distraction based on deceit.

⁴¹ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.91-2.

⁴² Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.205-8.

⁴³ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.141-2.

⁴⁴ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, p.142.

⁴⁵ Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 1968, pp.312-3.

All the same, the didactic intention, the importance of a mentor and a pupil in a foreign land, the condemnation of war and the desire to teach values that will ensure a more peaceful future and the many stylistic devices inherited from the Greek and Latin epic are all factors which make *Télémaque* a significant model for Foleÿ's *Eki*.

The nineteenth-century exotic novel

Among nineteenth-century novels, there are many that, like *Eki*, introduce the European reader to the people of a distant and exotic culture. *Eki* shares certain features of three sub-types of such novels: the story of Romantic love (like Chateaubriand's *Atala*), the adventure story (like Verne's *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*) and, more especially, the ethnographic novel (like d'Urville's *Les Zélandais*). Such a typology reflects the main emphasis in novels which all contain, in varying proportions, love, adventure and ethnographic description.

However, *Eki* is unusual in several important respects, including its use of a female narrator and its attempt to reproduce a non-European narrative style. Reliable dramatised female narrators are extremely rare in the nineteenth-century French novel. Moving in and out of the perspective of a woman within a third-person narration is more common (e.g., Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*; Maupassant, *Une vie*). Although the epistolary novel survives into the nineteenth century (Senancour, *Obermann*; Mme de Staël, *Delphine*; George Sand, *Lélia*; *Elle et lui*; *Flavie*), direct speech is often the main way for a woman's views to be expressed. Mme de Ségur's *Les malheurs de Sophie* is mainly dialogue, but with a moralising authoritative narrator.

It is above all in love stories that nineteenth-century French novelists have had recourse to first-person narration. First-person narration is found in Chateaubriand, Constant, Senancour, Mme de Staël, Musset, Sainte-Beuve and Fromentin, but their narrators are male. When Constant writes *Adolphe*, Adolphe narrates. When he writes *Cécile*, the narrator is Cécile's husband. The Romantic view of the woman as 'other', as the object of male desire, leads, then, to some of the best-known fictional heroines being from exotic places (Carmen, Colomba, *Atala*, Esméralda, Salammbô) and times (Esméralda, Salammbô, Hérodiade), but their stories are told by men.

Chateaubriand's seminal work of fiction, *Atala*, published in 1801, has a similar narrative structure to *Eki*'s. A North American Indian, Chactas, recounts his story to a young Frenchman, René, whom he has accepted as his adopted son. This happens within the frame of an omniscient narrator who supplies such details as the geography of the strange country where the action takes place.

Chactas, fils d'Outalissi, le Natché, a fait cette histoire à René l'Européen. Les pères l'ont redite aux enfants, et moi, voyageur aux terres lointaines, j'ai fidèlement rapporté ce que des Indiens m'en ont appris.⁴⁶

Atala gives her name to the title, but she is seen from the outside as enigmatic—"tout en faisait pour moi un être incompréhensible"⁴⁷—at least at the beginning of her relationship with Chactas when she has not yet revealed to him that she had made a solemn promise to her dying mother that she would remain a virgin and take the veil. Although *Atala* is given several speeches, *Eki* as narrator is given much more scope to describe her own life, her values and her thoughts and feelings.

Like Foley, Chateaubriand is very conscious of the rhapsodists of ancient Greece who sang Homer's epics. This provides their main model for structuring their modern works of fiction. Chateaubriand is quite explicit about this, explaining in one of his prefaces that these precedents have led him to divide his work into a prologue, récit and epilogue and, within the récit, into short chapters with their own headings:

c'était ainsi que, dans les premiers siècles de la Grèce, les Rhapsodes chantaient, sous divers titres, les fragments de L'*Iliade* et de L'*Odyssée*.⁴⁸

Foley has Maori "bardes" and "rhapsodes" (28) recounting the glories of Akaroa II, and the chapters coincide with the oral performances of *Eki* herself. Foley does not use the word "fragments", but he does advertise *Eki* as a "suite de tableaux mahouris"⁴⁹ and, in the text of the novel itself, he insists on the disjointed nature of *Eki*'s narration.

Just as Foley embodies his own values in the benevolent Positivist, Antoine, Chateaubriand has an authoritative, paternalistic character with the same function,

⁴⁶ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.93.

⁴⁷ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.58.

⁴⁸ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.18.

⁴⁹ See the "ouvrages du même auteur" at the end of the Baillière edition of Foley's *Quatre années en Océanie*, and in his *Feuilles positivistes et autres*.

but in this case it is a Christian hermit, le père Aubry, “le bon religieux”, who sleeps on a mat in a grotto and tells Atala in that confident, wise, nineteenth-century voice:

ma fille, tous vos malheurs viennent de votre ignorance; c’est votre éducation sauvage et le manque d’instruction nécessaire qui vous ont perdue; [...] Dieu vous pardonnera, à cause de la simplicité de votre cœur.⁵⁰

Where Antoine champions and explains Eki’s world view, Aubry is concerned with developing Atala’s knowledge of Christianity and with converting Chactas.

“Simplicité de cœur”, along with other expressions like “d’innocents Sauvages”⁵¹, are not words that Foley would use in his portrayal of a feisty Eki, but another feature of the stereotypical savage, volatility, is found in both works. Chactas rather improbably sees this in himself: “avec la mobilité du Sauvage, je passai subitement de l’excès de la crainte à l’excès de la confiance.”⁵² In Foley’s work it is Édouard who says that Eki’s gestures and looks can have “la mobilité de la folie” and that “tout, chez Eki, est excessif” (19). Although nineteenth-century European men often saw savages and women as sharing certain qualities, it is probable that Eki’s obvious emotionalism can be identified with Chateaubriand’s “emportements qui ne sont connus que des Sauvages”.⁵³ Chateaubriand and Foley share a common nineteenth-century view of the savage temperament.

To avoid a problem that Foley had to face, Chateaubriand has Chactas being a savage who is “plus qu’à demi civilisé” and thus able to express himself in a European way. Chactas has spent many years in Europe before returning home to America. A brief account of his often negative European experiences has the same function as the story of Antoine in *Eki*, providing a point of comparison that is not in all respects favourable to Europe. Chactas has not only learnt modern European languages, but classical ones as well. This allows Chateaubriand to exploit Chactas’s knowledge of Indian ways for the content of his story, while using European conventions in the structuring and narrating of the story. “Sans cela il eût fallu renoncer à l’ouvrage: si je m’étais toujours servi du style indien, *Atala* eût été de

⁵⁰ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.80.

⁵¹ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.71.

⁵² Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.74.

⁵³ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.79.

l'hébreu pour le lecteur".⁵⁴ It is arguably Foley's attempt to reproduce "le style maori" which makes *Eki* difficult to follow and understand.

The plot of *Atala* leads the reader to wonder whether, after being captured by his tribal enemies, Chactas will be tortured and killed as a sacrifice. Then, once he and Atala have escaped, the reader's attention focuses on whether they will give in to their passion or not. Finally, comes the sad recounting of Atala's death and Chactas's grief. These three movements all have their equivalents in *Eki*, even if Foley's plotting is less organised and coherent. Eki and her parents are tied up ready to be sacrificed. There is considerable drama when Akaroa II wants to act as Eki's husband. Eki dies and leaves everyone feeling a great sense of loss. However, the intense but doomed passion that Chactas and Atala feel for each other runs right through Chateaubriand's story, with an understandable tragic twist providing the dénouement. In Foley's work, Eki continually feels love for Akaroa II, but the Maori men seem to see women as just another conquest in their lives as warriors and their pursuit of mana. Whether a battle will be won is a major plot issue in *Eki*, but not in *Atala*. *Eki* is more ambitious than *Atala* in that, rather than being a love story, it is an attempt to see a distant, sophisticated culture (love, war, daily life, beliefs, values) from the inside.

Just as Eki, herself, is more complex and more energetic than the stereotypical savage or woman, the depiction of a faraway land and culture is not reduced to what Chateaubriand calls "la belle nature". Chateaubriand's American landscapes are luxuriant, buzzing with insects and roaring with wild animals, "au milieu d'une savane semée de fleurs".⁵⁵ People can live an idyllic, simple life in a cabin, midway between society and nature. Chactas's story is beautiful, it is claimed, because it contains three key ingredients: "la fleur du désert, la grâce de la cabane, et une simplicité à conter la douleur".⁵⁶ Foley's Banks Peninsula and Canterbury Plains are emptier but inspire a wider range of positive and negative feelings in the characters. The life of the Maori is seen to include discomfort, dirt and degradation at the same time as it can be dignified, sophisticated and beautiful.

⁵⁴ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, préface, p.20.

⁵⁵ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.70.

⁵⁶ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.93.

Because Chateaubriand is a Christian and Foley is a Positivist, their attitudes towards colonialism are very different. In *Atala*, the Europeans are bringing civilisation (Christianity and the plough) to a hunter-gatherer people.

J'admirais le triomphe du Christianisme sur la vie sauvage; je voyais l'Indien se civilisant à la voix de la religion; j'assistais aux noces primitives de l'Homme et de la Terre⁵⁷

In *Eki*, the future promises a new, proud independence after the would-be colonisers have been driven out. The values and culture of the Maori are seen to have their own validity and to be the instruments of progress, without the need for external assistance.

All in all, both *Atala* and *Eki* are attempts to describe an exotic culture to a European reader. Both authors have used personal memories and books they have read to document their works of fiction and both have used classical models to structure their story. However, the use of a Europeanised narrator makes Chateaubriand's story less authentic than Foley's and, therefore, more accessible. The Romantic focus on love, the brooding *mal du siècle* that results when it cannot be requited, and the beauty of the natural setting give way, in Foley, to a more complex rendering of the everyday realities and perceptions of life among the Maori.

Another nineteenth-century French work of fiction which has the same narrative structure as *Eki* and *Atala* is Claire de Duras's short story, *Ourika* (1824).⁵⁸ This time, moreover, the exotic narrator is a woman, as in *Eki*, and not a man. Ourika is an African from Senegal. Just as Eki talks to Dr Antoine and Édouard, Ourika recounts the story of her life to a male doctor, who meets her not long before she dies. He encourages her to tell her story in a vain effort to cure her of the melancholy which is destroying her. This is not unlike the situation in which Eki finds herself: with only the happiness and glory of the past to sustain her, she has nothing more to live for once she has told her story. Reasonable and sympathetic (like Antoine and Édouard), the doctor provides credibility and gravitas to her narrative and is also able to recount her death in his framing of her story. Like Eki, Ourika spends her childhood with a young boy who is like a brother to her. When they become adults, Eki and Ourika both have to face up to the sexual dimension of their relationship and, in both cases,

⁵⁷ Chateaubriand, *Atala*, p.71.

⁵⁸ Duras, *Ourika*, ed. R. Little, 1998.

the woman finds that she loves a man whose attention is elsewhere. Both works portray the sensitivity and selflessness of a woman in a world where she has little power. While Eki is assertive and intelligent, however, Ourika is more passive and, although psychologically very perceptive, in the tradition of tragedy she is slow to recognise the truth of her own situation.

This is, then, another rare example of a reliable female narrator in a nineteenth-century French work of fiction. Its *mal du siècle* and dying virgin place it in the lineage of Chateaubriand's *Atala* and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*. There are, however, several major differences between *Ourika* and *Eki*. Duras's work is focused on the unrequited love of Ourika for Charles, while Foley's novel, in which Eki becomes the wife of the man she loves, has much wider concerns. More importantly still, Ourika's story takes place in Europe, not in Africa. Ourika dies because she is not accepted as an equal in European society where nobody of her intelligence and social accomplishments is prepared to marry her. Nothing is said of the traditional African life which she left when she boarded a slave ship at the age of two. She has been brought up as a member of Mme de B's family, but this kindness becomes a source of unhappiness when she realises what it means to be black in France. She is destined to a life of loneliness among people who stare at her as a freak.

Her story could be that of a French woman from a lower class who had been brought up by an aristocratic family. Africa in the story is reduced to the colour of Ourika's skin and a quadrille in which she represents one of the four parts of the globe and dances the comba, the national dance of a country of which she has no memory. This impacts on the nature of the narration, for Ourika has, like Chateaubriand's Chactas, been educated in France. She has had what she calls a perfect education from the best private tutors, studying English and Italian, music, literature and painting. Her narrative style has nothing African about it at all. Ourika is a cultivated French woman with a black skin living in France in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Eki is a Maori woman living within a traditional culture in New Zealand. Antoine and Édouard are the outsiders, the visitors, not Eki.

A story of exotic love that is set rather closer to New Zealand is Pierre Loti's *Le Mariage de Loti*. Like *Atala*, *Ourika* and *Eki*, it was first published with the heroine's

name as its title: *Rarahu*. That first edition came out in Paris in 1880, six years after *Eki*, and brought Loti immediate fame. It describes the year-long liaison between a British sailor, Harry Grant (known to the Tahitians as Loti), and a fifteen-year-old Tahitian woman, Rarahu, where both enter the relationship knowing that Harry's ship will not be staying long. Tahiti is presented as a tropical paradise, "l'île la plus voluptueuse de la terre"⁵⁹, where people do not have to work as everything is available in abundance. The people, with their "natures incomplètes"⁶⁰, are therefore lazing about half-asleep, in a sort of permanent daydream.

This creates quite a problem for the novelist as nothing much happens, apart from going for walks, swimming and attending parties at the palace of Queen Pomaré. There are no evil characters to threaten the happiness of the lovers, there is no violent action, no sudden reversals. (A few ugly old people are survivors from a cannibal past, an elderly Chinese man inspires disgust, and a member of the royal family is kept locked up because he is mad and violent.) There is just a quiet sadness hanging over the text because the ship must eventually leave, separating the two lovers, and because Rarahu, like so many Tahitians, has a cough that will inevitably lead to her death.

The text focuses on the evolving relationship between the two central characters who are separated by massive cultural differences.

C'était bien ma petite femme en effet; par le cœur, par les sens, je l'aimais bien. Et, entre nous deux, il y avait des abîmes pourtant, de terribles barrières, à jamais fermées; elle était une petite sauvage⁶¹

Rarahu is the beautiful, desirable Other. Tahitian women are characterised by their "sourire mystique"⁶² and by their dark eyes, with "leur impassible expression de câlinerie et de nonchalance exotique".⁶³ Like Foley's Eki, they have a childlike naivety and capriciousness and are full of contradictions. For Harry, Rarahu exists as a feeling inside himself: when he realises that she is consumptive and will not live long, it was "peut-être pour moi un charme de plus, le charme de ceux qui vont

⁵⁹ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.215.

⁶⁰ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.235.

⁶¹ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.202.

⁶² Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.205.

⁶³ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.150.

mourir”.⁶⁴ In this and in the moral collapse that occurs when Harry leaves, she represents Tahiti itself, a paradise that has been ruined by contact with Europe. This portrayal of what is seen as a dying culture gives the story greater resonance, but it remains the story of a relationship.

There is a certain amount of information about Tahiti: its palm trees, its balmy climate, its dances and music, and the simple hut the couple live in. The Tahitians are still afraid of evil spirits, the *Toupapahou*, even though they have superficially been converted to Christianity. All this is to supply a suitable atmosphere for an exotic love. Tahitian words and stories are introduced as Harry goes about learning the language. We are given the text, with a French translation, of several letters that Rarahu writes to Harry. Despite such inside views of her feelings, she remains an enigma for the reader as well as for Harry: she has no existence outside of her relationship with Harry. She is a prime example of the myth of the beautiful *vahiné* that continues on from the first explorers who called Tahiti “la nouvelle Cythère”.⁶⁵ The whole of Tahitian life can still be described in the words “séduction, trouble sensuel et désirs effrénés”.⁶⁶ It is like a return to a Golden Age.⁶⁷ When an old man tells a story, Harry has the impression that he is listening to Natchez from Chateaubriand’s *Atala*.⁶⁸ This brief episode in Harry’s life seems unreal, mysterious, a dream, “un acte de féerie” “dans quelque île enchantée”.⁶⁹ By the wistful end of the novel, it is “les rêves, les émotions douces, enivrantes, ou poignantes de tristesse”⁷⁰ which are over.

Tahitian life is reduced to idyllic love-making in *Le Mariage de Loti*, whereas Foley’s *Eki* has a fiercer love, along with war, fishing and Maori cosmogony. Loti is writing about a European’s love for a Polynesian woman, Foley is presenting a Maori woman’s view of her own culture which can be both violent and noble. *Le Mariage de Loti* is about what it is like to be a European man, surrounded by nubile maidens, not what it is like to be a Polynesian woman in traditional society. Loti’s idealisation of the exotic Other is to be contrasted with the frank realism of Foley’s

⁶⁴ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.205.

⁶⁵ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.201.

⁶⁶ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.201.

⁶⁷ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.183.

⁶⁸ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.224.

⁶⁹ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, pp.239, 200.

⁷⁰ Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.239.

portrait of Eki and the society around her. The New Zealand Maori, of course, do not live in a tropical climate and they have to work to survive. This contrast may simply be due, as Segalen has noted, to the fact that “l’exotisme est volontiers ‘tropical’. Cocotiers et ciels torrides. Peu d’exotisme polaire”.⁷¹ Foley also sets his novel mostly in pre-contact times, whereas the action of Loti’s novel takes place in 1872 in a world with a veneer of Christianity and where Europeans are seen as the masters who deign to “apprivoiser”⁷² two young girls as a sort of pleasant game. Loti’s worldly cynicism contrasts with Foley’s Positivist earnestness. “Loti ne croit en rien,” writes Todorov, “si ce n’est en son propre plaisir, et donc sa règle de conduite est devenue : n’agir qu’en fonction de sa jouissance.”⁷³ Loti provides a perfect example of what Said identified as Orientalism and which was “especially evident in the writing of travellers and novelists: women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing.”⁷⁴ Loti is successfully telling his French readers what they want to hear, while Foley is trying to present Polynesian life as it is actually felt from the inside.

A second, very different type of nineteenth-century fiction that exploits exotic climes and characters is the adventure story. One well-known French writer of adventure novels set a number of his works in New Zealand. Jules Verne (1828-1905), author of a series of works under the general rubric of “voyages extraordinaires”, is more or less a contemporary of Foley’s. His intrepid European characters travel on various missions through barely known parts of the world, overcoming one danger after another. New Zealand, with its brave settlers and its Maori cannibals, was seen as both a haven of civilisation in the mysterious South Pacific and a place where heroes could be under constant threat of being cooked and eaten. The volcanos, geysers and hot pools of the central North Island, recently described by Hochstetter, provided an environment in which anything could happen.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Segalen, *Essai sur l’exotisme*, 1978, p.13.

⁷² Loti, *Le Mariage de Loti*, 1989, p.142.

⁷³ Todorov, *Nous et les autres*, 1989, p.342.

⁷⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 1978, p.207.

⁷⁵ See Mortelier, “French Whalers in New Zealand” and “Jules Verne in New Zealand”, in Dunmore (ed.), *New Zealand and the French*, 1990, pp.20-31, 96-111.

The most extensive treatment of Maori culture is found in an early novel in Verne's extraordinary journeys series, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* (1865-7), which takes the form of a quest: the children of Captain Grant travel the world looking for their shipwrecked father, using, as their only guide, an incomplete message indicating that he is at a latitude of 47° South. These plucky young Scots face many obstacles—in South America, Australia and then, in Part III, in New Zealand—which they overcome, thanks to the courage and initiative of the young men and the silent stoicism of the young women. Scarcely mentioned in the background is a love story which, along with the finding of the father, has the main function of providing a happy conclusion.

Before the noble European adventurers arrive in New Zealand, the horrors of Maori life are detailed to them. Verne uses the device of an eccentric scholar, the absent-minded Jacques Éliacin François Marie Paganel, secretary of the Société de Géographie de Paris, to put across background information, such as the history of New Zealand and the customs of the Maori people. He talks principally about tattooing, tapu and cannibalism. However, although the European reader learns a great deal about distant places, the main emphasis is not on these facts, but on the story-line: the dangers facing the group of plucky Europeans as they search the world for the shipwrecked Captain Grant and find themselves obliged to cross mountains, escape from a pack of wolves and experience floods and earthquakes in South America, resist attacks by convicts in Australia and, in New Zealand, get away from Maori savages who have captured them and are threatening to eat them. One obstacle after another is overcome. Pluck triumphs, Captain Grant is found, brave John Mangles marries the worthy Mary Grant while, in a comic counterpart, Paganel marries Miss Arabella who is almost as eccentric as he is.

In the lengthy New Zealand section the Maori are depicted as cruel and constantly at war. The threat of cannibalism heightens the adventurers' and the reader's emotions. The notion of tapu, which inspires fear in the Maori, provides the European heroes with a possible weapon to use against their captors and pursuers. Tattooing is ultimately a source of comedy as the embarrassed Paganel eventually confesses that, while he was in the hands of the Maori, he had been tattooed. This is, then, a very negative view of the Maori, seen from the outside. The limited amount of direct

speech that they are given remains consistent with this view of cruel, heartless people. According to Paganel:

Les Néo-Zélandais sont les plus cruels, pour ne pas dire les plus gourmands des anthropophages. Ils dévorent tout ce qui tombe sous la dent. La guerre n'est pour eux qu'une chasse à ce gibier savoureux qui s'appelle l'homme⁷⁶

This is a view that Paganel, supported by the narrator, reiterates time and time again as the reader is led to fear for the safety of the European characters because “tout prisonnier aux mains des Maoris est perdu”.⁷⁷ The Maori are “cruels par nature” and it would take centuries to change them for their history is written in blood.⁷⁸

This is distinctly more pessimistic than Foleÿ's view of the ability of the Maori to progress beyond military to industrial society although, in this book that was published just a few years ahead of *Eki*, Verne ascribes the same motives for cannibalism as Foleÿ does: a greedy, sensual appetite for human flesh, a need for meat in a country that does not have the animals found in Europe, and a belief, attributed to the Maori, that you acquire the courage and strength of the person you eat. Both authors compare this Maori practice with the cannibalism that existed in former times in Europe. Verne insists that, ethically, it is the killing of one's enemies that is crucial, not whether one subsequently buries them or eats them. To the extent that he explains the supposed motives behind cannibalism, Verne can be seen as identifying with the Maori point of view, but this is far outweighed by the overwhelming disgust which he is trying to inspire.

The one thing that Verne sees as positive about the Maori is that they are fighting against France's traditional enemies, the British: “les Néo-Zélandais forment une population courageuse, qui, après avoir cédé un instant, résiste pied à pied aux envahissements de l'Angleterre”.⁷⁹ British tyranny has sharply reduced the Maori population, directly or indirectly: “Les massacres civilisateurs, les maladies et l'eau de feu l'ont décimée”.⁸⁰ Setting his novel in the New Zealand of the 1860s when war between Maori and Europeans settlers was widespread, Verne is, like Foleÿ, condemning colonial imperialism. He does this, however, without having any

⁷⁶ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.669.

⁷⁷ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.633.

⁷⁸ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.670.

⁷⁹ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, pp.689-90.

⁸⁰ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.693.

sympathetic Maori individual, comparable to “la bonne Eki”, that the reader can identify with. It would be wrong, though, not to point out that Verne’s plot requires some Maori to be shown to be kind on one occasion: “Deux jours après, mourant de faim, il fut recueilli par des Maoris hospitaliers—il y en a quelques-uns”.⁸¹ It seems to have been so difficult to have to admit the possibility that a Maori could be kind, however, that it had to be said jokingly.

Verne and Foley have very similar things to say about cannibalism and tapu, and the coincidence of a number of details suggests that either Foley had read *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* or was using the same sources. The use of Paganel as a mentor figure, the extensive information presented on Maori life and New Zealand geography, flora and fauna, and the importance of the quest for a father can justifiably lead one to see Verne’s novel, like Foley’s, as a “nineteenth[-]century version of a Telemachus odyssey”.⁸² However, the context in *Eki* is totally different. Verne sees Maori society from the outside, Foley (mostly) from the inside, using a sympathetic Maori narrator. For Verne, the horrific cruelty of the warlike Maori is used as an instrument of plot that is meant to inspire terror or wonder in the reader. For Foley, whose European characters are never in danger from the Maori they meet, cannibalism and tapu are aspects of a culture that he is trying to understand and explain from the inside. War is part of a historical process that leads people through a necessary stage of individualism to a future of altruism. The forces of progress are already there in the diversity of Foley’s Maori who do not conform to a single stereotype.

Many of the New Zealand settler novels published in English in the nineteenth century have a similar mix of information about the country and adventures of intrepid Europeans, although the combining of the two elements is not always particularly successful. Rider Haggard’s African novels and Fenimore Cooper’s North American novels are usually seen as their models. Maori tend to figure as part of the local colour: threatening warriors, mysterious tohunga and the occasional dusky maiden. The European hero, preferably a gentleman, is also more likely to be in love with a young settler woman than a Maori princess. From the confident

⁸¹ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.699.

⁸² See Mortelier, “Jules Verne in New Zealand”, in Dunmore (ed.), *New Zealand and the French*. Waikanae: Heritage Press, 1990, p.100.

vantage-point of civilisation, young British women can show their kindness by giving lessons to the children in the nearby pa where the Maori often speak in broken English. They are the exotic background to the essential line of the plot: the successful establishment of British settlers in a new, raw country. Part of that success may be the conversion of nice Maori people to European clothes, politeness (which usually means deference) and piety. This is done in the face of the treachery and violence of bad Maori men.⁸³

One such novel is, like *Eki*, set in Canterbury. This is Isabella Aylmer's *Distant Homes, or the Graham Family in New Zealand* (1862). It was written in England for English readers, using information supplied in his letters by the Anglican vicar of Akaroa, William Aylmer, and largely adopting the perspective of the Graham children, especially thirteen-year-old Lucy. In contrast to Verne's *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, New Zealand is the family's final destination, not a place for a few exciting adventures before returning to the real world of Europe. Written at the time of the New Zealand land wars, it seems aimed at reassuring the potential emigrant that New Zealand is actually amazingly like England, with just a few interesting local peculiarities, and that the Maori are not to be feared.

When Tom and his father drove up to one of the hotels, they could scarcely believe they were out of England. There stood the white-neckclothed waiter, smart chamber-maid, and boots; while, just as they arrived, up drove the mail car, a small conveyance, running between Christchurch, Lyttelton, and one or two other settlements further off.⁸⁴

The Graham family build a house on the land they have bought and continue their English lives—playing the piano, celebrating Christmas—despite the inconveniences of life in a “distant home” so far away from all the facilities they would normally take for granted.

The Maori episodes are mostly relegated to the end of the novel, after the problems of setting up a new home have been overcome. Attracted by the possibility of trade, some Maori set up a new “pah” just near the Graham's place and quickly prosper. When the Grahams attend a feast at the pah, two chiefs give a speech:

⁸³ See Stevens, *The New Zealand Novel, 1860-1965*, 1966; Robinson and Wattie (editors). *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, 1998.

⁸⁴ Aylmer, *Distant Homes*, 1862, p.47.

In speaking of the war, they both said it was wrong, and if they fought, they would fight for the good English, and the more English that came the better, as they brought raiment and riches with them, and all the listeners expressed their approval, so that there appeared no cause for apprehension from that quarter.⁸⁵

A few Maori who are sympathetic to the cause of the Taranaki rebel Wiremu Kingi turn up at the Grahams's house and at the local pah, but they back off in confusion when faced with Mrs Graham's steadfastness and Captain Graham's rousing speech. With the report of Kingi's capture, any fears of rebellion are extinguished.

For Isabelle Aylmer, the Maori are people with some quaint customs, described with some care, but people who are just waiting to be converted to Christianity:

they kept up most of their curious customs, and clung to their old superstitions, perhaps all the more closely, that they saw the time was coming when they would cast them voluntarily aside, and worship the true God in purity and sincerity.⁸⁶

The description of aspects of traditional Maori culture includes English translations of a song sung by the paddlers of a war canoe and of a poem that was chanted during a children's game; and a retelling of the story of Kahukura and the fairies that explains the origin of fishing.⁸⁷ Isabella Aylmer acknowledges using Edward Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* as a source of information as well as William Aylmer's letters. There is a Maori oven, Maori mats, a smoke-filled whare, and floods of tears to express emotion at meeting old friends. The Maori are sometimes seen paternalistically as exotic performers or as the grateful pupils of the benevolent Graham girls' school lessons. There is a Christian rejection of "the ugly and disgusting idols placed as ornaments of the supporting poles", with carvings seen as "hideous" and "deformed".⁸⁸ However, when the simple Irish servant, Bridget, takes fright every time she sees a Maori, this is a humorous criticism of her and not of them. The Maori are admired for being tall and strong, and praised for their ability to adapt quickly to European ways.

The descriptions of Maori life are not well integrated into the cause and effect sequence of the main plot, being simply conjured up as interesting spectacles. They

⁸⁵ Aylmer, *Distant Homes*, 1862, p.157.

⁸⁶ Aylmer, *Distant Homes*, 1862, p.149.

⁸⁷ Aylmer, *Distant Homes*, 1862, p.121, 155-6.

⁸⁸ Aylmer, *Distant Homes*, 1862, p.38.

are an incidental part of this novel about a comfortably-off family of settlers. The Maori episodes of the book are primarily from published sources about North Island Maori rather than William Aylmer's personal experiences in Canterbury and, because Isabelle Aylmer never went to New Zealand, herself, there are little errors which are immediately noticeable to a New Zealander, beginning with misspellings of place-names.⁸⁹ Apart from the historical figure of Wiremu Kingi in far-off Taranaki, no individual Maori is named or given any individual personality. In Foley's *Eki*, published later but set twenty years earlier, Antoine and Édouard are there to listen to Eki, not to have their own exciting adventures or to give lessons to the Maori about how they should change. Aylmer's Maori are there as local colour and are depicted as being on the verge of becoming Christian and civilised, thanks to the generous British settlers, and thus losing any cultural identity of their own. The pious narrator has no doubts about the superiority of European culture and religion.

There were, however, other New Zealand adventure novels that focused on the Maori, rather than on settlers. George Wilson's *Ena, or the Ancient Maori*, published in the same year as *Eki*, is about the wars that took place on the Kapiti coast in the early nineteenth century between the migrating Ngati Raukawa and the local Muaupoko tribe. After an introduction that recounts how ignorant the present-day (1870s) European settlers are of previous Maori owners of their land, entry into the pre-colonisation Maori world is procured for European readers through the story of a young white woman, Mary Morven, who is shipwrecked on the coast and rescued by the Muaupoko people. This is similar to Foley's use of Antoine and Édouard as bridges between the French reader and Eki. Mary Morven goes on to provide a very occasional European viewpoint in an otherwise totally Maori world.

The main perspective of the novel is not, however, that of a woman, European or Maori. The unidentified narrator follows the fortunes of two young Muaupoko chiefs, Raukawa⁹⁰ and Te Koturu, who, with the aid of an experienced tohunga, Hahaki, try to defend their territory against Waiki, a Ngati Raukawa chief. There are attacks and counter-attacks, ambushes and flights through the forest. Despite some

⁸⁹ E.g., Woikato for Waikato, Hult for Hutt.

⁹⁰ Giving the hero the same name as the enemy tribe seems unnecessary and clumsy, although Wilson could perhaps be indicating that he is not making any moral distinction between the two sides. Raukawa, of course, is also the name of Cook Strait, the home territory of the hero, as is the case with the hero of *Eki*, Akaroa.

inadequately motivated episodes⁹¹, the overall structure of the plot is designed to illustrate an episode in New Zealand history: the overwhelming defeat of local Kapiti coast tribes as the northern tribes move relentlessly southwards. There is no heroic triumph or poetic justice. A repentant traitor is killed by the heroes, but the main traitor gets married and is then forgotten. Both sides fight bravely and with skill but the reader is led to empathise with the losers, and the two heroes and the two young maidens they love die in the final chapters. Wilson's preface indicates that he is writing for British readers "who desire to know something of those distant islanders, many of whose lives present a continuous tragedy from the cradle to the grave". Foley, on the other hand, while he records Eki's death and alludes to a temporary decline in Maori culture as a result of European contact, retains an optimistic view of the future of the Maori people and does not cultivate an overwhelming sense of tragedy.

To contribute to a sense of pathos, Wilson introduces a love interest into his novel and links it with the main story. Raukawa's sister, Ena, who gives her name to the title, is in love with the other young hero, Te Koturu. Raukawa, himself, becomes rather fond of Mary Morven, which makes half-caste Hinema feel rejected. Jealous, treacherous Hinema arranges for Mary to be captured by the enemy, but finds that she and Ena are carried off as well. The young heroes have to rescue Ena and Mary from a distant pa as well as defend their own pa and attack Waiki's. After being rescued from captivity by her hopeful suitor, Mary, who shows no sign of reciprocating his love, dies from consumption and Raukawa, her unrequited lover, dies in battle, while the other young hero, Te Koturu, also dies fighting against Waiki. Ena hangs herself in despair on the last page of the novel. The reader is left with this moving moment, but the rest of the novel has been focused much more on the details of war than on love or personal psychology. The third-person narrative, as opposed to the first-person narrative in *Eki*, and the limited use of dialogue mean that we see people from the outside and know little of their thoughts and feelings beyond the labels of "jealous" or "brave". This means that we do not empathise particularly with them or see them as complex beings.

⁹¹ For example, when Te Koturu clearly has nothing to gain by rescuing some captured canoes. This episode seems to be there only in order to bring in an allied tribe who will later provide them with refuge.

So, like *Eki*, *Ena* is about war, about a migrating tribe defeating a local tribe and taking over their land. It is about a warrior culture and about men who only think of military glory. On the other hand, there is no reference to cannibalism in *Ena* until the final battle scenes. Wilson seems intent on gaining the reader's sympathy for his characters and does not want to risk arousing moral indignation until the reader has identified with their plight. Comments on Maori culture are integrated into the story and are not pedantically explained to the European reader. The description of young Ena's clothing:

her dress, a snow-white flax mantle bordered with black, and fastened on her breast with a curiously carved bone pin: the border was further adorned with diamond-shaped figures, in white and red colours, in correct and appropriate divisions.

[...] from her neck, suspended by a narrow band, a large and exquisitely carved greenstone *heitiki* rested on her bosom.⁹²

can be compared with that of Eki's:

Pour bijoux, Eki porte au cou un grigri de jade [...] Les deux coins supérieurs [de son manteau] sont fixés, à son épaule droite, par une longue arête de poisson [...]

Flocons de laine, poils de chien et cheveux d'hommes, délicatement mariés au fil; longues franges et larges broderies marginales...tout s'y trouve.

Dans les figures géométriques, blanches, rouges ou noires qui le bordent, la finesse, la grâce et l'harmonie des couleurs sont si parfaitement combinées, que c'est vraiment plaisir de poursuivre ces dessins naïfs, sous l'épaisse couche de malpropreté qui les couvre. (19)

Wilson's description is shorter and more matter-of-fact. Foley is more detailed and more emotive, mixing both positive and negative reactions, but both writers respond positively to Maori aesthetics. Instead of Foley's notes at the beginning of chapters and his explanatory dialogues, there is a glossary at the back of Wilson's book. Wilson lived in New Zealand and knew and wrote a great deal about Maori culture.⁹³ His translations of Maori poetry are in very ornate, rhyming English and the style of the narrative is at all times lofty:

⁹² Wilson, *Ena, or the Ancient Maori*, 1874, p.14-5.

⁹³ The frequent misspellings of Maori words are to be attributed to the compositors in London. Wilson contributed English translations to the Maori periodical, *Te Waka Maori*, and became its editor in 1884.

the birds, those silver-tongued minstrels of the wilds, were pouring from a thousand feathered bosoms the very magic of woodland melody. Ena stood to hear, and wept⁹⁴

Wilson acknowledges his debt to Alfred Domett's equally lofty epic poem of Maori life and love, *Ranolf and Amohia*, which was admired in Victorian times. He also precedes each chapter with verses from Macpherson's Ossianic epics, thereby implying parallels between Maori and ancient Gaelic culture. *Ena* is the work of an intelligent, educated man who, as an imaginative writer, can only be called well-intentioned but pedestrian. By adopting Eki's voice, intelligent, educated Foley avoids some of these pitfalls but, perhaps, ends up as well-intentioned and eccentric instead. Where Wilson uses tragic love and defeat in war to gain the reader's sympathy for the people of his Maori world, Foley adopts Eki's narrative point of view and exploits her pride in her Maoriness.

To get even closer to the type of novel that Foley was trying to write, one can turn to a third category, the ethnographic novel. Here, the most pertinent nineteenth-century French example is Dumont d'Urville's *Les Zélandais: histoire australienne*, written in the 1820s but never finished and never published in French. An English translation of this significant curiosity appeared in New Zealand as late as 1992.⁹⁵ This means that Foley would not have read it and so it would not have exerted any influence upon the writing of *Eki*, but the two works have the same purpose of using fiction to introduce French people to Maori culture. The authors are both intelligent French naval officers with scientific training who visited New Zealand and were fascinated by its people, and the narrative techniques employed have some of the same features and weaknesses.

Les Zélandais is a longer work than *Eki*. It has six cantos of narrative, along with extensive, separate, historical notes. The general reader can read the story, while the historian or anthropologist can consult the end-notes. The last three cantos and their notes are much shorter than the first three, indicating that d'Urville abandoned the work in an incomplete state. The notes take much of the burden of explanation away from the narrative, allowing the story to progress with less interruption and doing away with the need for an eccentric Paganel within the narrative or for the summary

⁹⁴ Wilson, *Ena, or the Ancient Maori*, 1874, p.27.

⁹⁵ Dumont d'Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992.

explanations that Foley placed at the beginning of his early chapters. There is a European narrator who declares, “I am going to sing of the combats, ways and customs of a distant people”⁹⁶, and who expresses uncomplicated moral judgements on the characters. Nevertheless, as in *Eki*, Maori people are given narrative roles and a considerable amount of direct speech. In particular, the second and third cantos, nearly half of the novel in its present state, are recounted by the young hero, Taniwa. Taniwa, who lives under the assumed name of Koroké, tells the story of his life to the heroine, Marama, who naturally wants to know as much as possible about the man she is about to marry. The revelation of his identity as the son of an enemy chief is, as in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, the mainspring of the plot.

The book claims to be even-handed in its presentation of the Maori in that it presents both positive and negative aspects of their culture, the “hideous and disgusting” and the “cheerful and pleasant”.⁹⁷ One of the main ways in which this is done is through the confrontation of two leading Maori chiefs, Moudi-Pangui and Chongui. Moudi-Pangui (Murupaenga of Ngati Whatua) is the new Maori who has adopted European values and who represents the cheerful and pleasant. Chongui (Hongi Hika of Nga Puhī) is the old Maori who sees nothing beyond warfare and mana, and represents the hideous and disgusting. This dichotomy is something like that between the warrior men and the kindly women in Foley’s *Eki*, but it is not because of European influence that *Eki* is kind. D’Urville shows Maori people facing the dilemma posed by the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand. He is describing the dramatic changes in Maori society that occurred in the early nineteenth century, a development that he sees as clearly a change for the better, whereas *Eki* questions this and champions and explains the old ways.

The dramatic confrontation of old and new is played out in *Les Zélandais* in the war between the two great chiefs and in the love between their children. Beautiful and gentle Marama is the daughter of virtuous, magnanimous Moudi. Generous and sublime Taniwa is the son of the cruel, barbarous Chongui. Moudi and Taniwa are wise because they have been the pupils of Europeans. At the climax of the narration, Taniwa/Koroké saves the lives of both his father-in-law Moudi and his father Chongui as they try to kill each other in battle. He then arranges for Madden (the

⁹⁶ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.29.

⁹⁷ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.30.

missionary Marsden) to intervene as peace-maker, and even cruel Chongui “felt deeply moved and began to suspect that the happiest prince was not the one who could count the most victims or whose dreaded name made humans quake” (217).

Despite a number of Europeanisms for thematic simplicity (eg, Maori palaces, country houses, parliamentary and legal procedures), the novel is informed by a good knowledge of Maori culture and history, even though it was written early in d’Urville’s career, on his return from the first of his three voyages to New Zealand. Written after a careful assessment of published works as well as from personal experience, the book represents the state of European knowledge of the Maori in the 1820s. Maori concepts and practices are incorporated into the story with a minimum of fuss for thematic or plot purposes:

those inhabitants of Wangaroa [...] had the insolence to insult my father-in-law’s *waidoua* [wairua] by transforming his sacred bones into fishing implements.⁹⁸

However, most features of traditional Maori culture are seen in a very negative light. The book is an explicit and focused attack on cannibalism, human sacrifice, endemic fighting and traditional Maori religion. This critical view is expressed through the repulsion and disgust felt by the venerable Moudi and the youthful Taniwa/Koroké, for these features of old Maori ways. Moudi, the wise legislator, outlaws cannibalism and human sacrifice within his tribe⁹⁹ and, while ensuring that his people are prepared to defend themselves against attacks from other tribes, renounces warfare when it is not in a just cause. Taniwa/Koroké has the same feelings of disgust when he comes across Maori people with the old mindset:

when they wanted to return to their favourite subject, which was the story of their battles and feasts, they filled me with horror and I felt more than ever that I could never become accustomed to their barbarous ways¹⁰⁰

Influenced by science as well as by Christianity, he rejects “the absurd practices of *tapou*”¹⁰¹ and wants people to renounce “the Atoua of our ancestors” which are “chimera and fantasies of our enfeebled minds”.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.149.

⁹⁹ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.55.

¹⁰⁰ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.133.

¹⁰¹ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.73. Moudi also condemns tapu (p.58).

The negativity extends to even those aspects of their culture which have an aesthetic rather than a moral dimension. Koroké develops an aversion for tattooing which he describes as “that manner of becoming disfigured”.¹⁰³ He feels humiliated when asked to do a haka by some sailors, talking of “the contempt all those grotesque and barbarous grimaces aroused in me and the repugnance I felt at having to execute them”.¹⁰⁴ He associates “the lascivious and threatening dances and those obscene and bloodcurdling songs in which they delighted” with the barbarous past of his people that he wants nothing more to do with.¹⁰⁵ A reference to “the following stanzas, which, to the New Zealanders’ unrefined ear, are considered a poetic masterpiece”¹⁰⁶ could be seen as d’Urville being coy about his own pseudo-Maori verses, but it fits in with a clearly negative view of Maori aesthetics, which is also found in Jules Verne and Isabelle Aylmer, but not in Foley’s *Eki*.

When d’Urville refers on more than one occasion to “enfeebled minds”, he is referring to the way that traditional ideas limited Maori understanding, not to some supposed innate incapacity. With the arrival of European science and religion, the Maori are given the tools that enable them to compete with Europeans. Moudi becomes a great man after undertaking a long journey that increases his understanding:

In agriculture, ethics and physics, he had acquired principles which were extensive and which seemed to go beyond the natural ability of these islanders, who are deprived of the aid of our knowledge.¹⁰⁷

The Maori are seen as having enormous potential once they abandon their old ways. It is those customs that are being decried, not the people, who are seen as more advanced than the Tahitians in the way they order their society and certainly compare very favourably with the docile Australian aborigines in accordance with a widespread nineteenth-century cliché. “Despite these cruel practices, despite these revolting customs, the New Zealander nevertheless has noble qualities and even virtues.”¹⁰⁸ Individuals are compared with past and present Europeans. Even the

¹⁰² Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.69.

¹⁰³ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.106.

¹⁰⁴ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.119.

¹⁰⁵ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.74.

¹⁰⁶ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.76.

¹⁰⁷ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.35.

¹⁰⁸ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.43.

cruel Chongui, who knows nothing but war and is presented so negatively, is seen as a Maori Agamemnon and the Panapati (Bonaparte) of these wild regions.¹⁰⁹ A European captain condescends to say of Koroké that “I know numerous English people, even from the upper classes, who would deem it an honour to be like him.”¹¹⁰ In the same way as in *Eki*, European class distinctions are extended to Maori and there are uncouth Maori, just as there are European sailors who are ill-bred or crude and insolent.¹¹¹

Just as Foley believes in human progress, d’Urville rejects the Rousseauistic concept of the noble savage, asserting, instead, that the “state of nature is, in reality, only a state of debasement”.¹¹² The conclusion of the novel, with its acceptance of missionary arbitration, opens up an optimistic view of the future because the missionaries have promised that the acceptance of their message must “raise the tribes of New Zealand to the level of the most civilised peoples of the world in a few years”.¹¹³ The difference between Foley and d’Urville is that the former thinks that the Maori, through the rugged individualism of the men and the kindness of the women, will get to such a position on their own through a natural evolution and a rejection of foreign domination whereas d’Urville believes that the way forward is to adopt Christianity.

Like Foley, d’Urville allows the Maori to present their own views. Akaroa I and Akaroa II are warriors within a warrior world and fight without feeling any need to justify their lifestyle, and Eki impatiently and proudly defends their values. D’Urville’s Chongui gives a long speech to justify his pursuit of military glory and even the kind Koroké is tempted into the same lifestyle in his youth, which makes him understand how easy it is to follow the old ways:

I cease to be surprised that my compatriots, who from childhood are nurtured on these barbaric principles, make it the sole occupation of their entire lives.
(102)

¹⁰⁹ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.142-3.

¹¹⁰ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.122.

¹¹¹ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, pp.135, 119.

¹¹² Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, p.84.

¹¹³ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, pp.152-3.

Both writers are interested in getting inside the minds of the Maori to convey to French readers the logic of their apparently barbarous world. Those who have condemned the Maori, says d'Urville,

were ignorant of the religious dogmas and political reasons which were able if not to justify these cruel practices, at least to account for them and, above all, they were forgetting that throughout time, in spite of our much vaunted civilisation, all the people of Europe, one after another, have deserved a similar reproach.¹¹⁴

These same thoughts are also expressed by Foley's Antoine.

Both Foley and d'Urville emphasise the cruelty of the Maori at the same time as they seek to empathise with them. Like Foley, d'Urville uses Virgil and Fénelon as his models, repeatedly calling his hero "magnanimous", making overt comparisons with the Trojan War, and explaining that a successful ruler should pursue the happiness of his people and not his own glory. In keeping with what we see, now, as nineteenth-century pomposity, d'Urville's style is at least as high-flown as Foley's. There is frequent recourse to apostrophe—"O happy Civilisation, fruit of the spirit's meditations, fecund mother of enjoyment and bliss" (84)—and Homeric epithets are everywhere. Where Foley differs is in his attempt to imitate the rhythms of Maori speech and poetry. D'Urville's prose never departs from the smooth elegance of a writer who has been educated in the classics. The style does not change when Koroké recounts his life or when Marama, Moudi or Chongui speaks. Koroké has received an excellent education in Australia and his English is said to be as good as his Maori. Marama is a quarter French and three-quarters Maori. The various Maori, European-educated or not, while they have different things to say, express themselves in the same sort of language as the European narrator. Unlike Foley, d'Urville is not interested in any sort of linguistic realism.

By harking back to Virgilian epic rather than being written within the conventions of the modern novel, *Les Zélandais* condemns itself to being a historical curiosity. Its interest lies in the details of Maori life that its intelligent and well-informed author observed himself or read about in his many acknowledged sources. It is a frill on the edge of d'Urville's scientific publications which supply such valuable information on traditional Maori life. By not indicating his sources, Foley makes it more difficult to

¹¹⁴ Dumont d'Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, pp.29-30.

assess the validity of his descriptions of Maori culture but both men, from a fairly limited acquaintance with real-life Maori, have made a considerable effort to feel what it is like to be one. Indeed, d'Urville's descriptions of Europeans from a Maori perspective can occasionally show a very modern sense of cultural relativism.

Other novelists had a longer and more continuous contact with Maori culture than either d'Urville or Foley. The year in which *Eki* appeared in Paris, 1874, happened to be the year when, in addition to Wilson's adventure novel, *Ena*, the first two ethnographic novels about the New Zealand Maori were published in English in London: Johnstone's *Maoria* and White's *Te Rou*. Significantly, Johnstone feels that, although there have been many stories about the North American Indians, there is no New Zealand precedent for what he is doing. This was a time when, after the land wars of the 1860s, some thoughtful European settlers were wanting to record a traditional Maori way of life which they had known but which was, they felt, fast disappearing.

"Maoria" is Johnstone's name for pre-contact New Zealand. The sub-title of the book makes Johnstone's intentions clear: it is a sketch of the manners and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand. Captain Johnstone of the Bengal Army was a settler in the Raglan area and had extensive contact with the Maori around him.¹¹⁵ "The author has spent many years in New Zealand, and knows what the Maori once was, and what he is now," he writes in the preface to *Maoria*.¹¹⁶ He has been asked, he said, to write a Maori story, which he sees as a testimony to "the truth, honour, generosity, hospitality, and virtue which distinguished the inhabitants of Maoria before the advent of the Pakeha".¹¹⁷ This is not to deny the negative side of pre-contact Maori life: "He was ignorant, superstitious and cruel; but he was truthful, brave, and, according to his lights, honourable".¹¹⁸ He sees the coming of so-called civilisation as having brought moral and physical deterioration, and, like many people of his time, he saw the Maori as a dying race. Because he records what he himself experienced or what he had heard from people he knew, the information on everyday Maori life in *Maoria* is valuable historical evidence. When he ventures,

¹¹⁵ At the beginning of the Land Wars he had published a pamphlet on Maori-European relations: *The Maories, and the Causes of the Present Anarchy in New Zealand*. Auckland: 1861.

¹¹⁶ Johnstone, *Maoria*, 1874, p.viii.

¹¹⁷ Johnstone, *Maoria*, 1874, p.viii.

¹¹⁸ Johnstone, *Maoria*, 1874, p.ix.

however, into generalisations about the reasons for the voyages from Hawaiki to New Zealand or about the Maori conquest of, and inter-marriage with, a black-skinned earlier race, he expresses what are now seen as the misconceptions of his age.

The book is a mine of information on manners and customs and the table of contents provides an idea of how most of the book is organised. Here, for example is his summary of the contents of Chapter II:

Female labour. Maiden freedom. Fishing canoes. The tohunga. "A lazy fellow." "Making faces." A delicate duel. A Maori séance. A spirit voice. Karakia. Wooden swords. Early marriage. Polygamy. A mataika. A Maori table d'hôte. A manuka spear. Grotesque carvings. The fortress of Ngutukaka. Its defences. Universal industry. Preparation of fern root. A magic grove. A primitive incantation.

There seems to be little logical connection between the topics covered, and the range of subjects in each chapter is often astonishing. Johnstone provides useful and detailed information on many aspects of Maori life that also appear in Foley's *Eki*. There is the same assumption about the central position of war in Maori life and the importance of military skills and courage for the Maori male and there is considerable discussion of military tactics, whether attacking an enemy or defending one's own pa. There are interesting accounts of men acquiring a wife, including through what Johnstone calls a "taua tango"¹¹⁹, when a war-party announces its intention to seize the woman that a man wants to marry and the woman's tribe plays out the role of wanting to retain her. The phenomenon of "weariness", where an elderly Maori lets himself or herself die, sometimes after the death of a husband or wife, is explained and illustrated, allowing the reader of Foley's novel to see Eki's death as not at all unusual in traditional Maori society.

What holds Johnstone's book together is that he describes all these "manners and customs" as happening within a particular Maori community, the Ngati Roa of Ngutukaka on the Waitebuna River, over a relatively short time of just over a year. The names and places, people and tribes do not allow the scene of the action to be identified except as being on the west coast of the northern North Island. The particular pre-contact period when the events take place is not divulged until near the

¹¹⁹ Best calls it a "taua muru wahine" in *The Maori*, 1924, I, 472.

end when the reader, who expects it to be not long before the arrival of Europeans, finds that it all happened some two hundred years earlier.¹²⁰ The book opens one spring. Right near the end, spring returns but a siege continues for a further few months before the final climax. The book records the various activities that take place during the various seasons and then a sort of coda brings about a suitably tragic dénouement.

“These few pages make no pretence to the character of a work of fiction,” says the preface. What Johnstone means by this is not that he has not tried to tell a story but that the events are historically true and not the creation of the writer’s imagination:

The traditions [which these few pages] describe are Maori traditions; the characters are real characters; and most of the incidents occurred under the observation of the author¹²¹

There are narrative links between the very diverse anecdotes and descriptions, and there is a small number of named characters. There is an old chief, Te Au o Te Rangi, whose death leads to a debate as to which of his sons should inherit his position, the strong, resolute Karaka or the hesitant, eldest son Te Wira. There is a tohunga, Ngawhare, who tries to advance his own position of power by manipulating events and people. The beautiful Tui appears at the beginning and returns to provide a brief love interest and some pathos at the end. Apart from its unity of place, the changing of the seasons and a dozen or so characters who are mostly members of the same extended family, the structure of *Maoria* is extremely fragmented. Karaka is the only character who comes somewhat to life in a book that is fascinating for the details of Maori life but has no overall sense of shape. *Maoria* provides much more information—and more reliable information—on Maori life than *Eki* does, but its storyline and characterisation are rudimentary.

John White, the author of *Te Rou*, the other ethnographic New Zealand novel published in 1874, is an acknowledged expert on Maori culture and the editor of a standard six-volume collection of traditional Maori stories, *The Ancient History of the Maori*. Like Johnstone, White writes in New Zealand, with access to local knowledge and with a long and detailed experience of Maori language and culture, whereas Foley writes in Paris after spending only three years in New Zealand some

¹²⁰ Johnstone, *Maoria*, 1874, p.186.

¹²¹ Johnstone, *Maoria*, 1874, p.ix.

decades earlier. White writes authoritatively about the Maori, whereas one has to be careful about accepting what Foley has to say, checking it against other sources, including White. *Te Rou* was published in London and was written for English—and pakeha New Zealand—readers, while *Eki* was published in Paris for French readers, with no thought for possible New Zealand readers.

There is no question of influence of either *Te Rou* or *Eki* on the other. They were published in the same year in different places. The sub-title and the preface of White's novel indicate an intention similar to Foley's, though: the depiction of traditional, pre-contact Maori life and, in particular, war, love, utu and karakia. Narrative is a device to make this information accessible to a wider readership: it serves the primary thematic aim of showing how Maori people act and think. Individual characters in *Te Rou* are presented as typical of all Maori, rather than as being distinguished from each other by their moral and psychological values and characteristics. This is partly true of *Eki* also, but Foley distinguishes between male and female psychology and ethical values, and different males are contrasted as warriors, possessing or lacking valour, nobility and energy.

White has an anonymous eye-of-god narrator, but individual Maori also tell stories among themselves (not to a named and present outsider as in *Eki*) and there is extended dialogue. This means that White has problems as Maori have to explain too much to each other so that a European reader can understand. Here, for example, is part of a very stilted dialogue about Tu, the god of war:

“What offering do old men make to him to obtain his assistance in battle?”
 “Why,” answered the old man, “you must have been brought up in ignorance not to know that, or your memory is not good. We offer the matata while repeating a karakia.”¹²²

White keeps to pre-contact time, whereas Foley has both pre- and post-contact times, and can make contrasts between them and properly identify his listener/reader as a European.

The chapters of White's book are there to show particular aspects of everyday Maori life, rather than to advance the story. Chapter headings include “The purification of the corpse-bearers”, “Cooking a dead slave” and “The burial and burial rites of those

¹²² White, *Te Rou*, 1874, pp.29-30.

who died in battle". When White gives the words, in English translation, of a *karakia*, a canoe song or a *haka*¹²³, one can be sure that it is an authentic text, however, and that it has been moderately well translated, which is not the case with *Eki*, despite Foley's very competent translations of Maori myths from Grey in his *Quatre années en Océanie*.

Rou is only one of many named characters and, although he has status and leads his men into battle, he is not present all through the work and is not someone the reader particularly identifies with. It is surprising, therefore, that his name is used in the title. Different characters tell stories and one of the longest is the story of the slave, Pipo. The reader probably identifies most with him and with another slave, Kai, who kills his bullying master, Namu, as these two characters are faced with a difficult predicament and are present for quite some time in the narrative. In *Eki*, on the other hand, there is a clear central character who is also the principal narrator, telling the story of her immediate family and creating a more unified story. In White's novel it can be hard to remember who each character is and which tribal group they belong to.

Foley talks about people being cruel and yet his overall picture of the Maori is relatively positive, whereas White depicts the cruelty of battle in precise graphic terms, making one see the pre-contact Maori as vicious and devoid of compassion, attaching no value to an individual human life, including their own. People generally kill and die without any feelings being involved, apart from pride, *mana* and shame.

Some of the elder boys had severed the old slave's head from the body, and it had been taken possession of by one of the girls, the blood trickling down her arm, and bespattering the small mat which was tied round her waist. With the other hand she held the snow-white beard, by which she opened and shut the mouth, making the teeth gnash and snap, at the same time uttering a wild yell.¹²⁴

There is no place for Foley's kind *Eki* among the women in White's novel. Some even go into battle and "had almost become fiends. [...] if it occurred that the men seemed inclined to show mercy, they aroused them to fury and deeds of cruelty".¹²⁵ There are a few instances of someone being moved by a death, however, and at the

¹²³ Eg, White, *Te Rou*, 1874, pp.34, 57, 136.

¹²⁴ White, *Te Rou*, 1874, p.224.

¹²⁵ White, *Te Rou*, 1874, p.57.

very end the elderly Takaho lies down on the graves of his son, Namu, and of Namu's wife, and waits there for death to come to him. Earlier a woman who has been taken prisoner, jumps out of a canoe and drowns herself and her baby because she is distraught at her husband's death. However, these examples stand out as exceptional.

While White and Johnstone show a deep knowledge of Maori culture, the plot and characterisation of *Te Rou* and *Maoria* are much more elementary than in *Les Zélandais* or *Eki*. White, like Johnstone, is well informed and writes in elegant English, but he shows the skills of an ethnologist and not those of a novelist. The same sort of doubts are also raised by *Eki*, whose author has a deep interest in ethnology and wishes to use specific details about Maori culture to promote a general theory of race and of human progress to which he is very committed.

As a novel, *Eki* poses basic questions that are hard to answer. Is it a very badly plotted, modern European novel that omits information that its French readers require if they are to understand the psychological and thematic implications of what is happening? Are its ellipses the result of Foley's personal idiosyncrasies, unresolved inner conflicts and repressed emotions? Or, much more positively, is it an attempt to reproduce the narrative structure of traditional oral Maori literature and the psychology of a nineteenth-century Maori woman? Comparison with Foley's other works suggests that it could well be a combination of all three.

Joan Stevens has said of White and Wilson:

neither writer was able to overcome the handicap imposed by the intractability of Maori material. Too much had to be explained; no literary conventions existed then—nor do they now—for rendering Maori speech; too little can be assumed about the psychology of the Maori protagonists, while tribal life, history, customs, and legends continually distract the authors from the business of the story. Later novelists have fared no better than Wilson and White; the problem of portraying the *ancient* Maori in fiction remains unsolved.¹²⁶

If one adds d'Urville and Foley to the list of nineteenth-century novelists who write about the Maori, one can see different strategies employed to describe Maori culture, but neither has written a great modern novel. D'Urville is elegant and predictable,

¹²⁶ Stevens, 'Literature', in McLintock (ed), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1966.

while Foley is perhaps merely eccentric, but he at least makes an attempt to express a Maori world-view through form as well as content, and from the inside, using the narrative point of view of a Maori woman. Eki is a woman who, at different times and in different situations, is attracted to and repelled by the male body, and she is a Maori who defiantly defends cannibalism. Chateaubriand envisaged such an approach to a foreign culture but rejected it because it would make the resultant novel impossible for a Frenchman to read. He has been vindicated in that *Atala* is a widely read classic while *Eki* is totally unknown. However, while *Eki* is certainly difficult to read, it has dared to be very ambitious and it rewards close analysis.

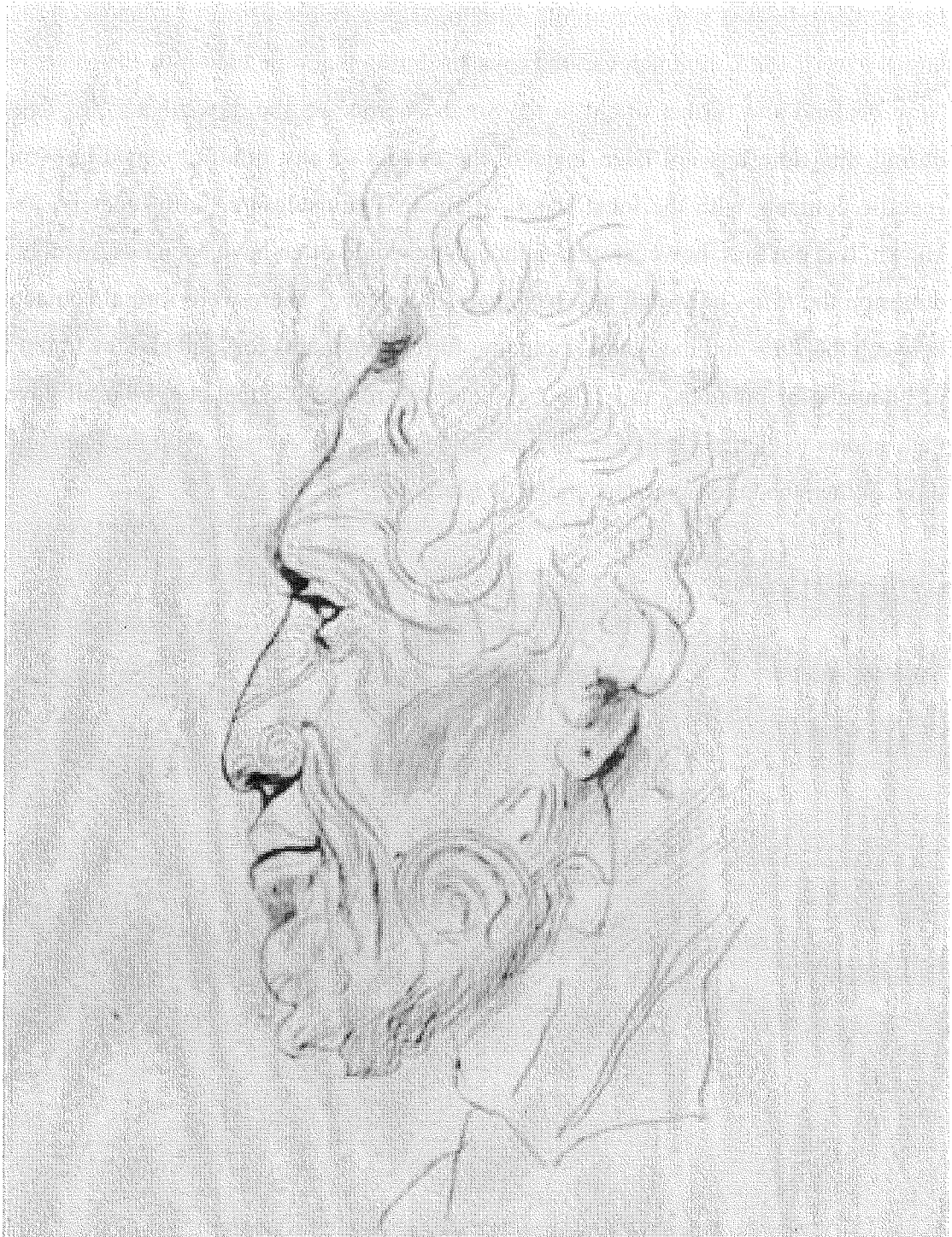
NEW ZEALAND AND THE MAORI IN *EKI*

Foley had first-hand experience of living on Banks Peninsula. As the chapter on his life explains, he was stationed on the *Rhin* in Akaroa Harbour from 11 January 1843 until 16 April 1846, although various voyages during that time took him elsewhere in New Zealand and further afield in the South Pacific. As the diary that Foley kept during this time has not been located, the details of any hunting expeditions or specific contacts with the local Maori of Banks Peninsula are, unfortunately, not known. It is obvious, however, that, although he would often have been busy with his duties on the *Rhin*, he would also have had shore leave. There were formal contacts between the *Rhin* and the Maori, including further payments for land and the trading of blankets for potatoes, and Tikao, Iwikau, Akaroa and Tamakeke, who all gave their names to characters in *Eki*, all had various personal contacts with the *Rhin* and three of them had their portraits drawn by Meryon.



Tikao, a charcoal drawing by Meryon

What we do not know, however, is whether the naming of Meryon's portraits preceded or followed the naming of Foley's characters in *Eki*. Was Meryon illustrating Foley's novel, or was Foley using the names he found on Meryon's portraits?



“Iwikao”, an etching by Delâtre from a Meryon sketch



“Toma Kéké”, engraved by Delâtre from a Meryon drawing¹

A fellow member of the *Rhin*'s crew wrote of the Akaroa Maori:

ils [se donnent] avec assez d'ardeur au travail et apportent le fruit à bord des navires; ils sont tous grands, bien fait[s], la plupart ont la figure tatouée; ils venaient à bord de la corvette aussi je peux parler de leur figure avec sûreté.²

Foley, then, had plenty of opportunities to observe the Banks Peninsula Maori at first hand if he had chosen to do so. An indication that he did have personal contact with

¹ There may be confusion about the labelling of some of Meryon's portraits of Akaroa Maori for this portrait looks very similar to that of Iwikao, but the title does at least suggest that Meryon did draw Tamakeke's portrait, even if his name should go with one of the other drawings.

² Voyage de la corvette le *Rhin* aux îles du Pacifique (Nouvelle-Zélande, Tonga, Wallis, Marshall, Gilbert, Nouvelle-Calédonie) par un homme de l'équipage 1842-1846 (Muséum d'histoire naturelle, La Rochelle: ms 332).

Maori individuals is a passing statement he makes in a discussion at the Société d'anthropologie in Paris:

A la Nouvelle-Zélande, lorsque je demandais à un indigène: « Qui es-tu? » il me répondait: *Tangata maouri*, c'est-à-dire: Je suis un homme maouri.³

This also indicates that he had at least some knowledge of the Maori language and that it was used in conversations he had with Maori people.

When he was back in Paris, he retained an interest in New Zealand and in ethnography. There are, as we have seen, many signs of this in his medical thesis and in many of his published works, such as, for instance, his translation of part of George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* in the first volume of his *Quatre années en Océanie* in 1866. Jules Verne, who also wrote novels set in New Zealand, lists in 1867 the books he was able to consult at this time in France as he documented himself for the task. They included accounts of the voyages of Cook, Marion du Fresne and Dumont d'Urville as well as works by Richard Cruise, John Liddiard Nicholas, Earle, Kendall, Marsden, Hochstetter and Hooker, and he is able to refer to an article in the *Lyttelton Times* and to a census undertaken by the Protectorate of Aborigines.⁴ Such works would also have been available to Foley since he translated Grey from English to French, and he was often chosen by Auguste Comte to look after English-speaking scholars while they were in Paris.

Foley's scientific training at the École Polytechnique prepared him to write intelligently about his New Zealand experiences. At the time when he was in the Pacific, he was an alert and ambitious young scientist. This scientific training was taken in a new direction, more towards the biological sciences rather than the physical sciences, when he went on to study at the École de médecine. His enthusiastic espousal of Positivism then provided him with a theoretical framework for the study of the evolution of human societies which he had not had at the time of his encounters with Polynesia and it is after imbibing Positivism at the feet of the master, Comte himself, that Foley wrote *Eki*. His aims in writing the novel include indulging in his own memories of his youth and communicating them to others, but also presenting, through them, a Positivist view of the history of mankind. Writing

³ Discussion, séance du 7 janvier 1886, *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 9 (1886) 31.

⁴ Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, pp. 626-8, 670, 693, 695, 698, etc.

the work while living in Paris nearly thirty years after his trip to New Zealand created something of a problem for him, however, as he had a good command of Comte's theories but a limited number of memories with which he could illustrate those theories. Foley did not have the advantages of someone like John White, who was on the spot in New Zealand, to test his theories by talking to Maori people around him, and his joining of the Société d'anthropologie in 1875 happened after, and perhaps as a result of, writing *Eki* in 1874. The date when he began his association with the Société d'ethnologie has not been ascertained, but his membership of these societies and regular attendance at meetings exposed him to the views of leading ethnologists and anthropologists, including men, like Quatrefages and Gassin, who had published significant works on the Pacific. This may have influenced his subsequent works, rather than *Eki*.

Banks Peninsula in the 1840s

Foley does not see any reason to explain to his French readers whereabouts in the world New Zealand is. He uses the European name, Nouvelle-Zélande, but also, as a result of his adoption of a Maori perspective, calls the country "notre terre Mahouri" (30, 45, 56) or the "îles de Maoui" (51), the island which Maui fished up from the sea and the island from which he did the fishing. Even if he expects his readers to have heard of New Zealand, Foley does not expect them to know much about it. He explains that there are three islands and uses Maori names for two of them, Ika-na-Maoui and Taouaï-Pounamou, but gives the European names for Stewart Island and Cook and Foveau[x] Straits (15). In having this particular mix of European and Maori names, he follows the practice of d'Urville's 1840 maps. Setting his story on Banks Peninsula, he makes only cursory references to other places that his French characters sail past or are heading for, such as the Bay of Islands (34), East Cape (30) and the volcano that overlooks the health-giving muds somewhere in the North Island and that is visible from a ship which is not very far from East Cape (22, 30). One thinks of White Island or Tongariro.

The descriptions are much more precise and detailed for Banks Peninsula. *Eki* is valuable in being one of just a few written records that show what Canterbury was like in the 1840s before Europeans had changed the landscape completely. There are descriptions of Akaroa Harbour, Little River, Lake Ellesmere and the view across the

Canterbury Plains which come across as personal memories and the place-names Foley uses acknowledge the presence of European settlers and the French navy as well as of the Maori tangata whenua. The description of Akaroa Harbour is very much the way it would have been seen from Foley's ship, the *Rhin*, moored out from the shore:

Presqu'île de Bancks; baie d'Akaroa orientée N. et S., dix milles de long sur deux ou trois de large. A l'Est, quatre anses assez grandes, séparées par de très hauts mornes, savoir: celle d'Akaroa, des Anglo-Français, des Allemands et de Robinson. A l'Ouest, quatre anses pareillement, mais moindres, savoir: celle du Lieutenant, celle du Carénage, de Tikao et de la Ferme. (21)

Names were given to the various geographical features when the harbour was charted by Fournier and d'Ubraye in 1838 and their map was published by the Ministère de la Marine in 1840, making it available for the voyage of the *Rhin*. Further charts were produced by Stanley in 1840, and by Lavaud in 1841. A sketch map of Akaroa Harbour by an unnamed officer from the *Rhin* appeared in the *Magasin pittoresque* in Paris in November 1843, and in 1844 some of Foley's fellow officers on the *Rhin* charted the whole of Banks Peninsula.⁵ Another source of 1840s place-names is the Nanto-Bordelaise Company's collection of land deeds.⁶ Along with these documents, Foley's names for the different bays tell us something about everyday usage in the 1840s and/or about the way he adapts geographical facts to advance his story. A close look at place-names on early maps also indicates a great deal of confusion about which name goes with which place, perhaps calling current practice into question.

Foley's list of bays on the eastern side of Akaroa Harbour moves from south to north. The anse d'Akaroa must therefore be the bay at Onuku, with its important Maori village. Foley is presumably saying that the heroes of his work of fiction, Akaroa I, II and III, lived in this little bay. In fact, it was Tuauau who was the main chief there in the early 1840s, although Hoani Papita Akaroa, as a younger, outspoken chief of the same hapu, may have sometimes lived with his close relations at Onuku and have even been seen by Tuauau as a threat to his authority and therefore as someone unwelcome so close at hand and who should be made to live on

⁵ Maling, *Early Sketches and Charts of Banks Peninsula, 1770-1850*, 1981; "Les Européens à la Nouvelle-Zélande", *Magasin pittoresque*, XI, 47, November 1843, 373-6.

⁶ Nanto-Bordelaise Company. Actes de vente, 1841-1845 (WTu: MS q091 1841-45).

the other side of the harbour. Shortland's 1843 census records Onuku as having thirty-two inhabitants, including Kahukaka, the mother of Akaroa's follower, Tamakeke. The Maori name of this bay is Raumataki but the more usual French name was anse des Baleiniers, as it was where whaling boats anchored, and baie des Maoris was also used.

The bay with the recorded Maori name of Paka Ariki was usually called baie des Français by the French but Foley, fittingly enough, calls it anse des Anglo-Français as it had English Town at its south end and French Town at its north end. These two groups of houses have always been seen as combining together to form the town of Akaroa.

Foley's anse des Allemands was where most of the Germans who had arrived in 1840 on the *Comte de Paris* were living in German Town, le village des Allemands. Its Maori name is Takamatua. It is called baie des Allemands on land deeds and on a map drawn by the officers of the *Rhin* and Foley's name for it is the one that was normally used by the French in the 1840s.

L'anse de Robinson was named after the British magistrate who bought a hundred acres of land there in 1842.⁷ The deed refers to the property being situated in the bay marked "Baie Robinson" on the chart of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company and "called by the aborigines Kakakaiahau". Baie Robinson had appeared for the first time on Lavaud's map along with the Maori name. Again, Foley is recording the European name that became established while he was stationed in Akaroa.

On the western side of the harbour, Foley's list seems, once again, to move from south to north to name the four important bays, but he inverts the accepted order of the central two bays. The first bay, the anse du Lieutenant, is Wainui, where Lieutenant Ange François de La Motte of the *Aube*, Lavaud's second-in-command, had bought 120 acres of land in 1841 in partnership with a more junior officer.⁸ Fournier and d'Ubraye seem to give the name Wai-Nouï to Tikao Bay but the bay now known as Wainui is first shown with its Maori name by Stanley and it is at Wainui that Edward Shortland listed "Hakaroa" as living as the head of a village of

⁷ Nanto-Bordelaise Company. Actes de vente, 1841-1845 (WTu: MS q091 1841-45, #26).

⁸ Nanto-Bordelaise Company, Actes de vente, 1841-1845 (WTu: MS q091 1841-45, #10).

seventeen people in 1843. Once again Foley chooses to use the European name that would have been in everyday use on board his ship when he was stationed in Akaroa.

Foley calls his second bay the anse du Carénage. The next major bay as one moves northwards from Wainui is actually known today as Tikao Bay and was given this name by Europeans because Hoani Tikao lived in the early 1840s at the southern end of this bay in the village of Ohae with thirty-two of his followers. It is generally considered that the traditional Maori name for the bay was Okoropeke, but French maps have variant spellings of Ohae for it. There was doubtless some rivalry between Akaroa's Ngai Tarawa people at Wainui and Tikao's Ngai Tuahuriri people so close by, and observation of this antagonism could have led Foley to make it a feature of his novel. Interestingly, the map of Akaroa Harbour that appeared in the *Magasin pittoresque* in 1843 also gives the name baie du Carénage to what is now known as Tikao Bay. Moreover, the log of the *Rhin*, in giving the ship's bearings within the harbour, refers to the pointe du Carénage, which seems to correspond to the headland at the south end of Tikao Bay. This fits in better with the order in which Foley lists the bays, with his anse du Carénage preceding his anse de Tikao and suggesting that the names of the bays have changed over time.

It is the third western bay in Foley's list that is called anse de Tikao. Moving from south to north, one would expect this to be Petit Carenage Bay and it certainly has no known connections with Tikao. This raises the possibility that Foley simply got the order of the bays wrong. On the other hand, French maps suggest that there may have been both a Carenage Bay and a Petit Carenage Bay in the 1840s (just as, later, there would be a Tikao Bay and a Little Tikao Bay). No Tikao Bay appears on a map in the 1840s and the currently accepted Maori name for Petit Carenage Bay is Opakia. Foley has used only two Maori names in his list of bays and these names correspond to two opposing chiefs in his text: Akaroa and Tikao. His naming of the anse de Tikao may simply be his way of giving his characters different territories in the northern and southern parts of the harbour.

Foley's anse de la Ferme is clearly the bay where the French naval farm was established. The 1843 *Magasin pittoresque* map shows that there was a jetty at the farm and that there was a "chemin de la ferme au Carénage" and a separate "chemin des lacs" that led from the farm over the hills to Wairewa and Waihora. So men from

the *Rhin* would have taken a boat to the farm or the Carénage and then walked from the farm over to the lakes. The accepted Maori name for the French Farm bay is Rautahi but, once again, Foley has given the European name as he reproduces the world in which he spent several years as a young man.

All these bays on the eastern and western shores of Akaroa Harbour were difficult to reach, which was partly because of the high hills (“très hauts mornes”) between them. The head of the harbour had a very special feature:

Au Sud, l'entrée. Au Nord, une anse coupée en deux par une langue de terre escarpée, longue, mince, courant droit au Sud, pendant un mille, et terminée par un très gros morne au sommet duquel juchait, au temps jadis, le pas de Tikao. (21)

This is one of the earliest impressions of the Onawe peninsula where the local Maori, under Tangatahara, had defended themselves against Te Rauparaha in 1832. In Foley's time there, the peninsula was part of the grazing grounds for the French Navy's sheep, but the signs of recent battle were very apparent, still, in the 1840s. Early in 1840, one of d'Urville's officers, Dumoutier, had collected some skulls “sur le champ de bataille même où la tribu d'Akaroa fut presque entièrement exterminée dans une lutte avec des tribus voisines”⁹ and it was on Onawe that he saw “des empreintes encore sanglantes et des restes humains dont le sol inférieur est jonché”.¹⁰ “Onoui Pa” appears on Stanley's 1840 map and in 1845, Daniel Baldwin, the third mate of the American whaling ship *Charleston*, wrote in his log: “We saw the stronghold where the bones of hundred [sic] of the natives around this Bay lie bleaching, slain by the Great Chief of Cloudy Bay.”¹¹ It had not, however, been Tikao's pa. Hoani Tikao had been captured by Te Rauparaha earlier at the fall of Kaiapoi.¹² Foley is calling it Tikao's pa for the purpose of his narrative and, just as he called the bay at Onuku the anse d'Akaroa, he may have displaced the anse de Tikao northwards to make it closer to Tikao's supposed pa on Onawe. The “très gros morne” which appears as Mont Gibraltar on Fournier and d'Ubraye's 1838 manuscript map was known as Te Pa Nui o Hau to the Maori.

⁹ Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée. Anthropologie*, par M. le docteur Dumoutier, 1854, p.147.

¹⁰ Dumoutier, *Journal de son voyage à bord de l'Astrolabe* (Musée de l'homme, Paris: ms 72, p.470).

¹¹ Log of the *Charleston*, 31 Jan. 1845 (WTu microfilm: PMB 287).

¹² See Hone Tare Tikao's life of Hoani Tikao as told to Cowan, *Akaroa Mail*, 1 Jan. 1918.

Foley's very precise description of the hills around Akaroa harbour would astonish the modern reader who now sees dry, grass-covered hills everywhere. In the 1840s, before systematic saw-milling got underway, there was very extensive forest, although the vegetation changed with the height above sea-level:

Tout autour de la baie, en l'air, à trois milles du rivage, quelquefois quatre; on voit les crêtes des montagnes. Au pied des roches, qui les composent, règne une zone aride. Au-dessous, est une ceinture plus ou moins large d'herbes, sèches et coriaces, ou de fougères rabougries; plus bas encore, la forêt aux arbres séculaires et gigantesques, avec leurs filets inextricables de lianes sans fin; en descendant encore, des arbrisseaux et des buissons; en descendant toujours, des fougères élevées; enfin, au bord de la mer, dans les endroits marécageux, des arundos et du formium; dans les secs, la falaise à pic, le galet ou le sable. (21-2)

Foley pointed out, also, that the density of the bush depended on the depth of the soil and on whether the land was flat or steep:

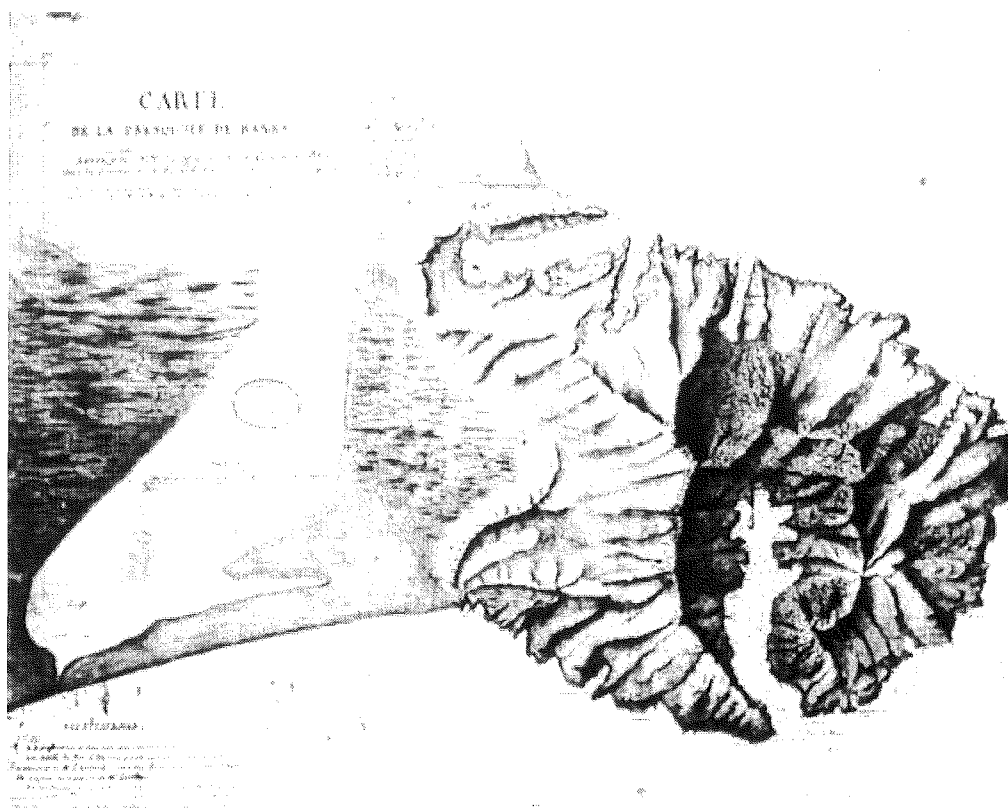
Suivant l'épaisseur, forte ou faible, de son humus et l'ampleur de ses dimensions horizontales; le manteau de terre qui couvre les collines étend ou resserre et hausse ou bien abaisse les festons, luxuriants ou pauvres, de ces diverses végétations. (22)

The thick undergrowth and the undrained marshes added to the difficulties of communication on the peninsula where people relied on boats and ships, a few Maori tracks and several kilometres of "chemins" that the French navy established. Foley's description can be compared with the almost contemporary testimony of Dr Raoul, who was stationed in Akaroa from 1840 to 1843 and who also describes the barren summits above the dense forests and the extensive bracken:

La Presqu'île de Banks où l'*Aube* et l'*Allier* ont fait successivement un séjour de 28 mois, est formée par la réunion de plusieurs gros mornes volcaniques, dont les crêtes seules, élevées de 2 à 3,000 pieds, sont arides; les ravins et les vallées sont occupés par des forêts épaisses toujours vertes qui se prolongent sur le flanc de quelques montagnes. Tout le terrain où il n'y a pas de bois est couvert par des fougères extrêmement épaisses de plusieurs pieds de hauteur. De nombreux ruisseaux coulent rapidement des montagnes sur des lits de roches et de cailloux ferrugineux.¹³

¹³ Service Historique de la Marine à Brest, Archives et bibliothèque: Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'École de Santé de la Marine, Campagnes de mer. Rapports des officiers de santé, tome 3, pièce 21. "Médecin Raoul, bâtiments *Allier* et *Aube* 1840-1843 campagne circumnavigation". It was presumably the colour of the water which led him mistakenly to use the word 'ferrugineux'.

There is no mention in *Eki* of Port Levy, where there was a large Maori population, or of Whakaraupo, now known as Lyttelton Harbour, which is the largest bay on the north side of the Peninsula. Foley was not amongst the group of men from the *Rhin* who visited them by boat as part of their charting of the Banks Peninsula coastline and these bays were not easily accessible from Akaroa in the 1840s. One of the two good tracks out of the harbour led to Pigeon Bay, which is mentioned briefly in *Eki* as the northern counterpart to Akaroa Harbour (51), and where the Nanto-Bordelaise Company had sold land to the Sinclair family. The other track, of course, went over to the two lakes, Wairewa and Waihora.



“Carte de la presqu’île de Banks” drawn by officers of the *Rhin*
Waihora is on the left, Wairewa in the centre and Akaroa Harbour at the bottom right

Wairewa (Lake Forsyth) is Foley’s “petit lac”. The published version of the map drawn by the officers of the *Rhin*, with its “Wairéwa, Petit Lac”, confirms this obvious identification. Foley seems to have been over-awed by the silence and darkness of the valley around it, which was sheltered from the wind and often in deep shade. A long description insists on its lack of life and its overwhelming desolation:

Rien de plus triste et de plus sombre que sa vallée! Deux lieues de long: un demi-mille au plus de large: et, de chaque bord, des montagnes de 800 mètres et plus de haut.

Au milieu serpente, ou mieux, stagne une rivière plate, glacée, lente et silencieuse, que forment les torrents des montagnes. En ses eaux (qui vont se perdre ... on ne sait où!) le soleil (l'été seulement, et tout au plus pendant une heure, aux plus longs jours) se mire parfois à regret. (50)

Foley's measurements for the length and width of the valley are indeed correct, but his estimates of the heights of the nearby hills are excessive. Maps of the 1840s record the heights of only a few hills around Akaroa Harbour and the highest hills on Banks Peninsula, Mount Herbert and Herbert Peak, are certainly more than 800 metres, but they are some distance away from Wairewa. The valley floor is described as "encombré d'herbages", but the plants around the lake are "sans couleurs ni parfums". In this "grand cercueil entr'ouvert" there is little animal life: "les rats eux-mêmes ne peuvent [y] vivre; et les oiseaux, qui le traversent, y perdent la voix en passant". There is no sound of insects and any animal that strays there becomes listless and dies. Only the blind eel can survive there. Foley's description of the valley is a description of the feelings of the men who walk through "ce lieu sombre et désolé", which has "pour atmosphère, la tristesse. Le cœur se serre en y entrant" (50).

He assumes that Maori people have the same reaction to the place when they go there every year in the eel-fishing season. They "ont soin d'arriver en bon nombre: afin de n'avoir pas trop peur" (50). This is not at all the recorded view of the local Maori, however, who told Stack the story of how Mako (Mango) chose Wairewa as his territory when Ngai Tahu first arrived from the North Island:

"Did you see any good country in your travels?" [asked Mako.]

"Yes," they replied, "Ohiriri (Little River), that is the stream we saw, and Wairewa is the lake."

"And what food can be got there?" he asked.

"Fern root," they said, "is one food, but there are many kinds; there are wekas and kaka and kereru and eels."

Mango replied, "Inland is a pillow for my head, on the coast a rest for my feet."¹⁴

¹⁴ Stack, "Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers", in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, p.8.

If this contrast between what Foley thinks Maori felt and what they actually felt highlights the problems faced by Foley when he tried to place himself in a Maori mind, it remains true that his whole description of the valley around Lake Forsyth comes over as an authentic personal reaction to a place that struck a Parisian in the 1840s as empty and eerie. His reaction probably depended on the time of year also, for another Frenchman, Dr Charles Frouin, who walked over there in midsummer 1852, found himself in a little clearing in the forest which “me plut beaucoup”: “la beauté du Bocage [...] semblait nous inviter d’y rester”.¹⁵ What is more, although he could not find any water-cress, Frouin found plenty of “perroquets” to shoot up on the hills and pukeko and ducks near the lake, and he roasted them over a fire (with frequent gulps of Armagnac) or took them back to Akaroa. Although Foley hardly mentions trees in his description of Wairewa, it may well have been what Polack called “the deep gloom and unbroken solitude”¹⁶ of the bush, particularly in the cooler months, that was a major factor in producing a feeling of alienation.

Foley does have trees masking the cave near the lake, where the young Eki listened to her mother’s stories and in which Antoine and Édouard find a carving in the stone. The sculpture is described by Foley as “déjà dégradé” (50) when seen in the 1840s and there is no further written reference to rock art of any kind in caves or beneath any volcanic outcrop in this valley, although it exists in many limestone areas of Canterbury where hunter-gatherers sought shelter when they were travelling through the countryside. Te Ana o Koko is a named cave in the cliffs by the sea not far from Wairewa and close to the path that Antoine and Édouard take¹⁷, but there are also many small caves on the hillsides near the lake.

The hut where the elderly Eki lives is quite some distance from the cave associated with her youth. She lives now in the marshes of Foley’s “grand lac” which, although not given any further name in the text, is clearly Waihora / Lake Ellesmere. On the

¹⁵ Frouin, *Journal de bord: 1852-1856*, 1978, 60-2.

¹⁶ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, II, 205.

¹⁷ Land Information New Zealand, ms Black Map 195. Maori names from sketch plans supplied by Canon James W Stack, 9.11.1894.

published version of the map of Banks Peninsula drawn by the officers of the *Rhin*, one finds the words “Grand lac” contrasting with the “Petit Lac”, Wairéwa:

Waihora. Grand lac d’eau saumâtre, que les naturels font communiquer à volonté avec la mer, pour prendre des anguilles. Il est habité par une quantité considérable de canards et de poules d’eau.

Foley introduces it at the very beginning of Eki’s story, stressing its importance if the reader is to understand what follows:

Le récit que j’ai à vous faire exige que vous connaissiez, tout d’abord, la vaste plaine sauvage, moitié marais et moitié prairie, qu’on nomme ici le Grand Lac. Permettez donc que je vous la montre. (15-6)

Its extent and appearance are emphasised—the great size of it, the absence of signs of human influence, and the fact that it is a mixture of swamp and grassland rather than a sheet of water. Édouard and Antoine are on a hill-top looking out over the Canterbury plains. The ocean is on their left, the snow-covered alps stand out against the blue sky in front of them and off to their right. Below them the lake unrolls its “immense tapis de verdure, bien au-delà du plus lointain horizon.” (16) A white, sandy isthmus separates the lake from the sea: this, of course, is Kaitorete Spit, even if it would require the dazzle of the sun to make its sand and gravel seem white.

The precision of the description recorded in Paris thirty years later makes it certain that Foley himself looked out from this hill, even if it is not technically the “piton le plus méridional de la presqu’île de Bancks”, as the coastline in fact reaches its southernmost point near the entrance to Akaroa Harbour. The hill that Foley refers to, “à la pointe Nord de l’isthme qui sépare le grand lac de la mer”, was probably the one that lay between Woods’s Oashore whaling station and Lake Forsyth, 181 metres high and the last hill on the peninsula for anyone heading southwards. There are certainly steep cliffs on the seaward side, where Foley could have experienced vertigo as the sea-birds “nous touchaient, en passant, du bout de leurs ailes” (17)—or at least seemed to threaten to do so.

Although Waihora is also described as silent like a tomb—the reaction of many newcomers to the unpeopled spaces of New Zealand—, Édouard’s reaction to the larger lake contrasts sharply with the negative emotions he experienced at Wairewa. It is, in particular, the play of the evening light on the water and in the vapour above

it that turns the scene into a “féerie grandiose, mélange inextricable de fantastique et de réel”, and launches “mon imagination ravie” into “les régions du merveilleux et de l’inconnu” (16). It is hard, now, to imagine how the lake must have looked in the 1840s. Foley is saying that, although it was called a lake, what he saw from this vantage point was really more like green fields, flecked with puddles and streams:

Çà et là, de petites plaques et de longues bandes éclatantes émaillent sa teinte verdâtre; ce sont les flaques et les cours d’eau qui l’empêchent de n’être que prairie. (16)

The greenness which is often noticable when the lake is viewed from above, as in this instance, may be caused by algal bloom on the surface and by the underwater vegetation, *Ruppia megacarpa*, *Potamogeton pectinatus*, *Lepilaena bilocularis* and *Zannichellia palustris*.¹⁸ Foley talks of sea-weed catching the feet of Antoine and Édouard as they walk through the mud and water (49). Frouin calls Wairewa “le lac bleu”, which suggests that Waihora may have been called “le lac vert”. Along its eastern edges Waihora merged into extensive marshes and lagoons which were drained later in the nineteenth century to provide more farmland and prevent flooding. This marshland, along with the low level of the lake’s water, explains the otherwise mystifying reference to Eki’s hut being “enfouie de deux à trois milles dans l’intérieur du grand lac” (18) and yet how it is possible, if difficult, for Antoine and Édouard to walk there. Antoine describes the variations in the water-level during the different seasons of the year; how it rises in the spring with the melting of the mountain snow, dries out in the summer, fills with rainwater in the autumn and is infiltrated by sea-water during winter storms (16). Foley is clearly aware that there were major changes in the water-level and is pointing out that, when Antoine and Édouard are on their way to Eki’s hut, it was very low.

Dr Raoul also wrote about the extensive marshes (rather than lakes) next to the hills of Banks Peninsula:

Il n’existe pas de marais proprement dite à la Presqu’île de Banks, il y en a de très étendus à la partie voisine de l’île Towai Ponamou à laquelle tient la presqu’île. Ces marécages communiquent avec la mer et paraissent dûs au

¹⁸ Burrows, “Plant Life in a Salt Marsh Environment” in *Waihora Lake Ellemere Past Present Future*, 1994, p.49.

récent retrait des eaux. Ils s'étendent à plusieurs lieues vers les montagnes neigeuses qui forment le corps de l'île.¹⁹

The more developed manuscript map and the published map of Banks Peninsula by the officers of the *Rhin* have a huge area depicted as marshland, going far to the north of Kaītouna and forming part of the land belonging to the Akaroa Maori. Foley's older character, Antoine, also sees Waihora as made up of "nombreux marécages" and "fondrières", and covered with "ces roseaux et ces joncs sauvages" (17). All life forms, including fish, reptiles (presumably lizards), shellfish and plants, not to mention a few Maori people, are seen as struggling to survive in a hostile setting. So, for Antoine, it is "ce désert", "un vaste cercueil". This is a classical example of the European view of the New Zealand countryside as wasteland, when the Maori view of Waihora was of a rich source of food:

Te Rua hiki hiki, son of Manawa, was the next to enter and interrogate them. He, too, asked, "Have you seen any land?"

They replied, "We saw Kaitorete, a plain, and Waihora, a lake."

"What food can be got there?"

"Eels," they said, "abound there, and patiki and ducks and putangitangi are food to be got there."

"That shall be my possession," said Te Rua hiki hiki.²⁰

When Foley describes "quelques misérables pêcheurs de jade" (17) as wandering about the area, it is not clear whether he mistakenly thinks that they are looking for greenstone in Waihora or whether he pictures them as passing through on their way to where greenstone really was found on the West Coast.

Foley has told us that Eki's hut is set some two to three miles into the lake, with only one defence, which is "l'excessive difficulté, je dirais presque, la complète impossibilité de la trouver." (18) Is it, in fact, possible for us now to work out where Eki's hut was, or where Foley imagined it to be? It is described as being two hours' walk away from the hill where Antoine and Édouard rested and looked out at the lake (17). If one assumes that one walks four miles in an hour, that would mean that Eki's hut is about eight miles from their starting-point. Indeed, on their way back out, Édouard says that they had less than "huit milles à faire" (49) to get from Eki's

¹⁹ Service Historique de la Marine à Brest, Archives et bibliothèque: Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'École de Santé de la Marine, Campagnes de mer. Rapports des officiers de santé, tome 3, pièce 21. "Médecin Raoul, bâtiments *Allier* et *Aube* 1840-1843 campagne circumnavigation".

²⁰ Stack, "Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers", in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, p.8. Patiki are flounders, and putangitangi are paradise ducks.

hut back to Kaitorete Spit along a Maori track, but it took them all day as the level of the lake had risen. In one of the most evocative episodes in the work, Foley describes this so-called shortcut. The path they are trying to follow keeps disappearing in the ferns or under water. There is a dry section of the path where they stumble into ditches filled with flax and mud and they also spend an enormous amount of time climbing up and down the hillsides bordering the lake. In the final episode when Édouard and Antoine return to Eki's hut, they describe how the high grasses and the leaves and flower stalks of the flax between them and the hut are being agitated from beneath by the unknown wild animals which prove to be dragging poor Eki's corpse into the lake (56).

Because the Maori path takes them up and down the hills and across the muddy valleys next to the lake, it can be assumed that Eki's hut lies to the northwest of the point where they begin and end their journey. This suggests that the site of Eki's hut is the present-day Motukarara prominence, which in the days before the drainage of the lake by European farmers was almost certainly an island, as the Maori name suggests: Motu karara, lizard/monster island. Tikao, as reported by Beattie, referred to it as "a piece of higher ground surrounded by water at high floods and lizards took refuge there, hence its name."²¹ The fact that the first European name for the area was Rabbit Island seems to confirm that it was in the mid-nineteenth century—at least sometimes—an island and its distance from the nearby hillsides which will have formed the lake edge is also about right.

Eki's hut is described as being situated on a piece of bare and sun-baked earth some fifty to sixty metres square and subject to wind from the sea. Motukarara is some distance from the sea, but one can imagine the sou'wester blowing straight across the lake, making the enormous pile of mud that Foley describes necessary as a wind-shelter. (Such a shelter would have been very easy to create from the surrounding mud, but would not have lasted long and may well not have been noticed by other Europeans.) As the lake has changed so much over the years, there may have been other places in the same general direction which could have been the site of an isolated Maori hut in the 1840s. Archaeologists have found "one of New Zealand's most magnificent collections of adzes" at Motukarara, but they are from a much

²¹ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.453.

earlier period than the nineteenth century²² and the overall impression that Foley gives is that the whole area is all but devoid of human habitation: Eki is alone in a hut in the middle of nowhere, a few lost-looking Maori are sometimes seen wandering in the area, and larger groups of Maori turn up only for the eeling season and, in the story, at the time of Eki's death.

The details Foley gives in his descriptions of Akaroa Harbour, Wairewa and Waihora, along with the strong emotional impact that these places have on his character, Édouard, persuade the reader that Foley is describing the way Banks Peninsula actually looked to a young Frenchman in the 1840s when European settlement had made very little impact on the landscape.

Many of his descriptions of places include comments on vegetation and animal life. In the dips in the track through Waihora, Antoine and Édouard have to contend with mud and flax. As they brush aside the bracken, they get its itchy spores flicked into their faces (49) and at various times they encounter reeds, tall grass or coarse dry grass. Foley uses the technical names for *arundo australis* (toetoe) and *phormium tenax* (New Zealand flax) and Eki describes her husband's forehead as being "fier comme le pin géant, que ne courbe jamais la brise", which could refer to the totara or the kahikatea of Banks Peninsula. Foley does not say enough about individual plants to help a botanist who wishes to establish a list of plants growing on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s, but he says enough to convince the reader that he has indeed visited the places he describes, to give a general impression of how the countryside looked in certain areas and, in particular, to give an idea of the extent of the forests around Akaroa Harbour and of the swampland at Waihora. This is, after all, a novel, not a botanical treatise.

Many of the birds that Foley names are sea-birds that he would have seen on Banks Peninsula or in the surrounding seas: albatrosses, shags, sea-gulls (the smaller "mouettes" and the larger "goélands" or black-backed gulls), penguins (which he describes at one point as being "barboteurs"), petrels and cape pigeons ("damiers"). On Waihora he encounters "râles" (weka) and "poules d'eau" (pukeko). Eki, in an authentically Maori manner, often uses New Zealand birds—and other animals—as

²² Jacomb, "The Archaeology of Waihora / Lake Ellesmere", in *Waihora Lake Ellesmere Past Present Future*, 1994, p.20.

points of comparison when describing people. She utilises, for example, an extended comparison with the baby “nestors” (kaka) leaving their nest for the first time to describe the mixed feelings of Akaroa II’s followers (28). Foley’s use of the reduplicated form, “kivi-kivi” (38), is not unusual in the nineteenth century²³, but the kiwi is not a bird that he could have seen on Banks Peninsula. In 1840, d’Urville’s officers thought that local Maori were telling them that kiwi were numerous on the banks of a nearby lake, but they were presumably being told about weka.²⁴ Given that kiwi are night birds, Foley’s description of kiwi going friskily out to pasture in the mornings is an unfortunate invention to have put into Eki’s speech and, when she talks of the “aptérix” and the penguin being clumsy and cowardly or shy (45), it becomes obvious that Foley has not seen a live kiwi since, although they are certainly shy, there is no reason whatever to call them clumsy. Foley would have had no trouble seeing a “toui coquet” (36) on Banks Peninsula, however, and another bird is referred to in a very interesting manner: Akaroa II talks of “l’être étrange, moitié perroquet, moitié chouette, que mon père vit au bout du monde” (44). This is a very successful adoption of a Maori perspective to describe a bird, the kakapo, that did not exist on Banks Peninsula but which had been reported as existing in the far south.

Foley also exploits the exotic value of the giant moa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the moa was, as Foley indicates (18), thought to be either very rare or extinct. “It is yet to be ascertained whether it is not still alive in the Middle Island,” wrote Richard Taylor in 1855.²⁵ Although he gives details of a number of reported sightings of moa in the South Island by different people, Taylor seems to be assuming that they are extinct until it is proved otherwise. Thomson’s well-informed discussion of evidence in 1859 refers to stories of giant moas still living in the South Island as “idle”, as none had been seen alive “since 1650”.²⁶ That the Maori themselves were convinced of this can be seen in the proverb:

²³ See, for example, Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 96-7; O Wright, *The Voyage of the Astrolabe—1840*, 1955, p.74; Dumoutier, *Journal de son voyage à bord de l’Astrolabe* (Musée de l’homme, Paris: ms 72, p.477).

²⁴ P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, p.236.

²⁵ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.238.

²⁶ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 1859, I, 31-5.

Ko te huna i te moa. They have all disappeared as completely as the moa; they are all totally destroyed.²⁷

In *Eki*, however, the Maori characters believe in the continued existence of the moa, even if one can see that Positivist Foley is distinctly sceptical. Towards the end of the text, Édouard and some Maori think they see giant birds swooping around in the sky above Eki's hut: "je vois des oiseaux (vrais géants) qui vont, viennent, planent et tourbillonnent tout autour de la case d'Eki" (55). However—quite apart from the fact that the moa did not fly—a rational explanation is given by sober, sensible Antoine: "Les monstres qui te font peur, ne sont que des oiseaux de proie, dont la brume et ton étonnement exagèrent les dimensions." (55)

Akaroa was still a port of call for whaling ships in the early 1840s, there were shore whaling stations in several Banks Peninsula bays, and there were still a few ships spending the winter months waiting in the bays for female whales to come in to calve. Fish, too, were plentiful in the waters of Akaroa Harbour and the men on the *Rhin* were encouraged to go fishing regularly. Foley has his Maori characters talk of fish and marine mammals as part of his attempt to give a local perspective to their speech. Often it is just the generic "poisson", but he does name "bonites", "sardines" and "requins". The blue-nosed warehou or bonito; two members of the herring / sardine family, the sprat and the pilchard; and various sharks are found off the coast of the South Island. A special place in the book is reserved for the eels which a group of Maori have caught and are preserving for future eating by smoking them (52-3). This is happening in the area between the big lake and the little lake. Charles Frouin, in his non-fictional account of his hunting trip to this area in 1852, finds half a dozen Maori huts here in Te Marokura, which is now known as Birdlings Flat, and he buys eels from the five people living in them.²⁸ The blind eels that Foley associates with Wairewa (50) are presumably hagfish (tuere), which are eel-like in shape but have no backbone, are blind and exude slime. They are found throughout New Zealand and were regarded as a great delicacy by the Maori.²⁹

Marine mammals would have been more spectacular and exotic for visiting Frenchmen, and Foley talks of "baleines monstrueuses", "marsouins" (porpoises,

²⁷ Grey, *Ko nga Whakapepeha me nga Whakaahuareka a nga Tipuna o Aotea-roa. Proverbial and Popular Sayings of the Ancestors of the New Zealand Race*, 1857, p.59.

²⁸ Frouin, *Journal de bord: 1852-1856*, 1978, 67.

²⁹ Graham, *A Treasury of New Zealand Fishes*, 1953, pp.51-8.

probably Hector's dolphins), "phoques" (seals), "souffleurs" (dolphins, perhaps the common dolphin) and the "taupe-marsouin". A 'requin taupe bleu' is a shortfin mako shark and one meaning of 'taupe de mer' is 'shark', but the expression 'taupe-marsouin' (42), which Foley even abbreviates to simply 'taupe', has not been found in any dictionary or encyclopedia. If it means a shark-porpoise, it is quite possibly the orca or killer whale. The behaviour that Foley attributes to it, circling its prey and gradually moving in for the kill, and more especially the way it is described as standing up in the water, "quasi debout, pivotant sur sa queue flexible", points to such an identification, although they are, of course, many times larger than any dolphin. Orcas live mainly off fish and squid and "engage in a behavior called spyhopping, in which they raise their heads far out of the water, apparently in an attempt to look around above the surface".³⁰ They are usually called orques or épaulards in French and Foley's (or Akaroa II's?) idea that the fish are forced by the swirling water to leap into the air, falling then into the taupe-marsouin's open jaws, may be poetic fancy rather than precise scientific observation. Foley certainly had the chance to have a close look at a huge whale, for the men of the *Rhin* had spent months in Akaroa in 1844-45 preparing the skeletons of a southern right whale mother and calf for taking back to a museum in Paris.³¹ A smaller beaked whale and a number of dolphins were also among the zoological specimens that Dr Arnoux of the *Rhin* took back to the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris.

When Akaroa II ties him up, Mopou looks, in Eki's eyes, like a fat caterpillar (38). Later Eki talks of the men who, with the coming of the Europeans, have lost their self-respect and sit about silently like seals, allowing their clothes to become dirty and full of fleas and vermin (35). Although Foley has said that even rats cannot survive in the shady parts of the Wairewa valley (50), he describes how the Maori who are smoking eels at the far end of the lake have had to make special notched posts to prevent rats—European rats, not the indigenous ones³²—climbing up to gnaw at the suspended eels (52). When Eki finally dies and Antoine and Édouard are running to her hut, more and more rats "nous filent nombreux dans les jambes" (55),

³⁰ Clapham, *Whales*, 1997, p.103.

³¹ P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, p.235.

³² Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.226.

which fits in with Dumoutier's 1840 remark that around Akaroa Harbour there were "des rats en quantité inconcevable".³³

However, the two land animals referred to more often in the book are dogs and taipo. The dogs he describes are living in the wild and, according to Dumoutier, a lot of dogs and pigs had escaped into the surrounding forest when the local Maori were almost wiped out by Te Rauparaha in 1832.³⁴ The frequent allusions to the taipo pose a considerable problem, though. For Foley, it is, like the moa, a sort of legendary creature that exists now only in the fearful minds of the Maori. "Les taïpos sont des ours très rares, peut-être détruits" (18). They are bears that have lairs (41) and that are associated with caves and the snow-covered mountains of the Southern Alps (41, 56). Eki and the Maori generally are said to believe that, when Eki dies, the taipo will come and take her body to the tomb in the snowy mountains where they have already buried her father Mopou (48). They are doing this because Mopou was a bold hunter who had subdued them and made them obey his will (56).

The first recorded use of the word taipo dates back to the 1820s when James Boulton in the far south of the South Island wrote: "the boy died a natural death. The evil spirit (or Taipo) killed him."³⁵ Although there is a range of meanings given to the word, the common thread is nearly always that of an evil spirit and taipo is often seen as having much the same meaning as atua, with its basic meaning of a spirit inspiring fear. In 1840, the missionary James Watkin of Waikouaiti, equating non-Christian spirits with demons, wrote in his diary that taipo meant 'devil'.³⁶ Hone Tare Tikao saw taipo as the equivalent of atua and associated it with the soul of a dead person. When a particular man died, "his *taipo* or ghost was said to haunt the district for years, often in the shape of a *ruru*".³⁷ There is evidence that some Marlborough Maori saw taipo as seal-like creatures that emerged from the sea at night.³⁸ Richard Taylor lists a number of monster/demon figures of Maori lore, including

³³ Dumoutier, *Journal de son voyage à bord de l'Astrolabe* (Musée de l'homme, Paris: ms 72, p.477).

³⁴ Dumoutier, *Journal de son voyage à bord de l'Astrolabe* (Musée de l'homme, Paris: ms 72, p.477).

³⁵ Boulton, *Journal of a Rambler*, 1986, p.95. The obviously incorrect placing of the second bracket in Starkie's text has been amended.

³⁶ Boulton, *Journal of a Rambler*, 1986, p.95n.

³⁷ Tikao, *Tikao Talks*, 1990, p.82. A *ruru* is a morepork.

³⁸ Elvy, *Kei Puta te Wairau*, 1957, p.7.

another, called a *Taipo*, who comes in the night, sits on the top of houses, and converses with the inmates, but if a woman presumes to open her mouth, it immediately departs.³⁹

Herries Beattie also says it was associated with rustling noises on the roof. However, Foley's taipo seems rather to be closer to other Maori monster figures, like the ngarara (giant lizards) or, to quote Taylor again, the macro,

who is described as being a wild man, living on inaccessible mountains, occasionally making a descent and carrying off any man he can lay hold of. He is said to be covered with hair, and to have long fingers and nails, eating his food raw⁴⁰

From the North Island, Taylor even talks of the Ngati Mamoe living in the Southern Alps as the South Island equivalent of the macro. Another monster, the kaurehe, was likened to a beaver, a crocodile without a shell, a pukutuara (another name for the macro), a fish and a giant lizard in efforts to explain it to a European, and it was associated with caves and gullies in the mountains from which it would emerge and tear people to pieces.⁴¹

It can be seen, therefore, that there is Maori precedent for the figure that appears in *Eki* as a taipo, although the evil spirit in question may have taken the form of a macro or kaurehe. In *Eki*, the taipo is constantly associated with the moa. Eki foretells that, on her death, her soul will be guided to the stars by moa and her body will be taken to the mountains by taipo. When Eki does die, moreover, the Maori believe that her hut is being approached by taipo as well as moa (55). Édouard is petrified by fear, but Antoine laughs and says in his down-to-earth way that, thanks to Mopou the bold hunter, there are no more taipo and that the only creatures to fear are wild dogs (55). In the nineteenth century, taipo and moa are creations of the imagination: birds of prey and wild dogs are what a Positivist observes. All the same, Édouard's—and even Antoine's—empathy with the Maori is such that Maori beliefs are presented as perfectly credible and understandable.

³⁹ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.49.

⁴⁰ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.49.

⁴¹ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.354.

Maori clothing and ornaments

Foley specifies that Eki has kept “le costume de ses pères” (19). The 1840s were a time of rapid change when many Maori were adopting European dress, wearing European blankets or adapting traditional dress in the light of new materials that were becoming available. In Akaroa in 1840, blankets “had not yet driven out the national costume”, but were competing strongly with it.⁴² Eki’s two main items of clothing are a “jupon” and a “manteau”, of which there were many types in traditional Maori society, each with its own name. The skirt was worn around the waist, the cloak was worn over the shoulders. A cloak and a skirt or kilt were seen on many Akaroa men and women in 1840, although the skirt seems to have been optional.⁴³ They bear little resemblance, however, to what is now often seen as traditional Maori woman’s dress: a long skirt and a flat and tight bodice.

“Son jupon est une couverture de formium, très finement tressée, mais petite” (19) is Foley’s description of Eki’s skirt or kilt. Nearly all Maori clothing was made from flax (phormium), but there were many varieties of flax producing clothes of different coarseness or fineness. The general word for a skirt or kilt in Maori is paki or rapaki but, according to Mead, the kilt of the classical period was simply a cape worn in a different way. His lists of P and Pp-class garments emphasise the decoration used and the coarseness of the various fibres. Similarly, Roth sees the material of capes and kilts as much coarser than that of the cloaks, and none of the types of kilt listed by Best or Hamilton correspond to the finely woven one that Eki wears.⁴⁴ The smallness of Eki’s skirt and the fineness of its weaving suggest that it may have been a particular type of skirt, the maro, which was worn by women and “was a form of apron” that was usually triangular in shape.⁴⁵ It is recorded in the South Island as being made of “soft, flexible whitau”, that is, dressed flax.⁴⁶ On Cook’s second voyage, JR Forster described the maro as “a kind of small apron to cover their nudities made of their cloath”, but went on to give details of quite elaborate pieces of

⁴² Thiercelin, *Travels in Oceania*, 1995, p.145.

⁴³ Thiercelin, *Travels in Oceania*, 1995, p.145.

⁴⁴ Roth, *The Maori Mantle*, 1923, p. 48; Best, “Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Maori”, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 31 (1896) 642; Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p. 290.

⁴⁵ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 511, 520. See also Prendergast. *Te Aho Tapu*, 1987, pp.78-9, 116-9, items 54 and 55.

⁴⁶ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.49.

decoration that are not mentioned by Foley.⁴⁷ There were many different types of maro, and elaborate ornamentation characterised the maro kopua worn by women of high rank. Eki's rank is not expressed in this way, though, but through the decoration of her cloak.

Eki's cloak is described as being made of flax just like her skirt, but is much larger, hanging down the length of her body from her shoulders. It has long tassels round the edges and a patterned border. This sounds very much like a kaitaka, a cloak made with the finest flax that could have a patterned ornamental border known as a taniko. Only people of superior rank wore cloaks made of fine flax and, among these, taniko borders "were attached to superior garments only".⁴⁸ Eki's cloak is a "vêtement royal". The border of Eki's cloak, with its "figures géométriques, blanches, rouges ou noires", recalls JR Forster's description:

Their bodies are covered with a mat, made of their Flax, wove in a very regular manner, & which often have a fine border worked in black red & white with so great symmetry, taste & elegance that it deserves really the Attention even of polished Nations, who have the Arts among themselves.⁴⁹

This praise is so similar to Foley's admiration for "la finesse, la grâce et l'harmonie des couleurs" which are "si parfaitement combinées, que c'est vraiment plaisir de poursuivre ces dessins naïfs", that one wonders whether Foley was working from the French translation of Forster's *Observations*. However, this was probably just a typical European reaction to a form of art which was sufficiently similar to European art as not to appear grotesque in their eyes. Many other Europeans had very positive things to say about taniko borders.

The "flocons de laine" (19) which adorn Eki's cloak, while not a feature of "le costume de ses pères" or of the Maori seen by Cook, are what Foley would have seen in the 1840s. Again we have the situation where Foley has almost certainly described reality, as he saw it, rather than a more generalised and artificially "authentic" image. The French Navy, along with several British settlers, had imported sheep from Australia to Banks Peninsula in the early 1840s, but the coloured wool used in Maori cloaks seems to have come from unpicking European blankets and clothes, not

⁴⁷ JR Forster, *The Resolution Journal*, 1982, II, 299-300.

⁴⁸ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 516.

⁴⁹ JR Forster, *The Resolution Journal*, 1982, II, 299.

directly from the sheep. Confirmation of the use of sheep's wool to decorate cloaks at this time can be found in art works. The artist, Angas, was in New Zealand in 1844, while Foley was also there, although he did not venture as far south as Banks Peninsula. He painted a number of portraits of Maori who are dressed in a wide range of cloaks and tufts of coloured wool are found, for example, on the woman's cloak in the portrait of Kutia and Hamaiti and again on the woman's cloak in the portrait of the Tory Channel Maoris.⁵⁰ In his portrait of the children of Te Pakaru, the two girls are wearing finely woven kaitaka cloaks, with broad red, black and white borders, that reach to the ground.⁵¹ Most of the cloaks in Angas's portraits have tassels along the edges, like Eki's "longues franges" and the water-colour portrait of Te Rangihaeata, painted by Charles Heaphy in 1840, is another good example of a beautifully woven cloak with a wide taniko border.⁵²

However, Eki's cloak also had "poils de chien [...] délicatement mariés au fil". Hirini Mead uses the presence of dog hair and/or dogskin as an important criterion for distinguishing between two types of cloak. His K-class cloaks, called kaitaka or parawai, have coloured or patterned borders but no dog hair or dog skin. His D-class cloaks have dogskin oversewn onto the flax foundation and usually have taniko patterns. Dogskin cloaks were only worn by chiefs and had very high prestige value. Foley makes no mention of dog skin, and the dog hair on Eki's cloak, being "délicatement mariés au fil", does not sound as though it is made up of strips of dog fur. The overall impression given by Eki's cloak is that a broad expanse of flax, not of dog skin, is visible. What we seem to have here, then, is something that is close to Mead's K6, a type of cloak noted on Cook's first and second voyage, with its black, red and white taniko border, which the Maori "often trim with pieces of dogskin or birds' feathers" or perhaps his D10, the mahiti, with its taniko borders and with tufts of dogs' tails spaced out over the body of the garment.⁵³ Foley's reference to the presence of human hair is of particular interest to the anthropologist, although it may, of course, have been a false impression given by dog hair of two different colours, including the highly prized fine white hair of the dog's tail since two contrasting dog hair colours were often found on dogskin cloaks. However, Mead refers to various

⁵⁰ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plates 4 and 11.

⁵¹ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plate 24.

⁵² Barrow, *The Decorative Arts of the New Zealand Maori*, 1972, plate 3.

⁵³ Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*, 1969, pp.44-55.

pieces of evidence that human hair was woven in with flax fibre in some cloaks. More relevantly, five tufts of human hair, including three associated with tufts of white dog hair and feathers and one tied with fine hair cordage, have been found in Monck's Cave in Christchurch. Foley's description provides further independent evidence of the association of human hair with white dog hair.⁵⁴

Foley describes Eki's cloak as being fastened on her right shoulder by "une longue arête de poisson". According to Best, men's cloaks were secured on the right shoulder so as to leave the right arm free, while women's cloaks were worn so as to meet on the left shoulder or in front, although there is some evidence, which Foley's testimony reinforces, that, in the South Island, men's and women's cloaks were worn the other way round.⁵⁵ If Best's schema is right, Eki was wearing her cloak in the male manner, which could, perhaps, be explained by the fact that it was her late husband's cloak that she was wearing. She laments that Maori women are having to assume many of the traditional roles of men (35). A chief's cloak was tapu and the Kai Huaka feud broke out in Canterbury in the 1820s when a woman of inferior status put on Tamaiharanui's cloak. When a chief died, his cloak and other personal possessions were generally placed with his body.⁵⁶ However, some objects were passed on to relatives and so a person of sufficient mana could inherit personal possessions like a war-club, tiki or cloak. By wearing her late husband's cloak, Eki is showing her considerable standing.

The material from which Eki's cloak-pin is made poses a problem. Cloaks were usually held together at the top by a simple tie, but pins could also be used. "Pins made of bone were sometimes used to hold the two ends of kakahu fastened over the chest, and these fastenings were called tui or titia," wrote Beattie about the Maori of the South Island.⁵⁷ Tui and titia refer to the pin's fastening function. This curved pin, usually known as an au, was about 10 cm long and made from "ivory, bone, shell, greenstone, and sometimes wood".⁵⁸ 'Ivory' means the bone of a whale. Cloak pins

⁵⁴ Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*, 1969, p. 70, referring to Skinner, "Archeology of Canterbury: Monck's Cave", *Records of Canterbury Museum*, II, 4 (1924) 151-62. The references to a mat made of human scalps found in R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, p.277; and in White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, 1887, III, 36, seem to be misunderstandings of the Maori text.

⁵⁵ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 508-9; Heuer, *Maori Women*, 1972, p.32.

⁵⁶ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 230.

⁵⁷ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.47.

⁵⁸ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 508.

were often made out of a sperm whale tooth and the wife of a Banks Peninsula chief was described in 1840 as having her cloak “retained beneath her chin by a point tagged with a strip of cachalot’s tooth”.⁵⁹ A “strip” that had been ground out of a whale tooth or what has been seen as the ground-down ribs of small whales may be the explanation for Foley’s “arête de poisson”.⁶⁰ Sometimes Foley adjusts details to fit in with his general theories of human cultural evolution, but there seems no reason for specifying fishbone here unless he had actually observed this. It is clear that Foley was not merely copying the stereotypical images of others.

Unlike the people in Angas’s paintings, Eki was not bare-footed: “Des sandales de formium, les plus élégantes qui se fassent, complètent le costume de cette femme étrange” (19). Sandals were used more frequently in the South Island than the North Island and were mainly used for walking through stoney river beds or in the mountains. South Island sandals were made of flax, cabbage-tree leaves or the leaf of the titoi plant. Those which, like Eki’s, were made out of a single layer of plaited flax leaves were known as paraerae hou, kuara or parekereke. Those made from cabbage-tree leaves (takitaki and torua) were stronger and more durable, but perhaps less elegant.⁶¹

Eki had greenstone ear-pendants and a greenstone hei-tiki. Pre-contact Maori wore a huge range of ear-pendants (mau taringa) which could include such things as a bunch of bird feathers, or teeth from sharks, dogs or humans. Greenstone pendants (kuru) could be long, thin and straight (kurukuru), curved at the lower end (kapeu, tautau), flat (kuru papa) or of a more complex shape.⁶² Eki’s “longs pendants” are probably kurukuru. Although Foley seems to find it meaningful, there seems to be little significance in the fact that Eki has pendants in her left, but not her right, ear. Angas’s 1844 portraits show Maori people with pendants in either ear or both ears, and it does not appear to depend on the sex or age of the person concerned. Te Wherowhero has a greenstone pendant in his left ear, while Pomare has one in his

⁵⁹ Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.177.

⁶⁰ Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p.346; Duff, *The Maa-Hunter Period of Maori Culture*, 1977, p.134.

⁶¹ Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p.294; Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.236. See also Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 522; Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*, 1969, pp.122-3; Best, “Notes on the Clothing of the Ancient Maori”, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 31 (1898) 653; Shortland, *The Southern Districts*, 1851, pp.209-10.

⁶² Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 535-40.

right ear.⁶³ Kutia, the wife of Hamaiti, has a greenstone pendant in her right ear and a pendant of some softer material in her left ear.⁶⁴ Like Eki, who has several pendants in the one ear, Wiremu Tamihana is depicted with more than one pendant in his left ear, although only one is made of greenstone.⁶⁵ Early European observers seem to have been struck by the size and weight of Maori ear ornaments, however.

Their ears have large holes, in which they put bunches of white feathers or of Dogskin & on a string an oblong piece of a green Stone.⁶⁶

The title-page of Angas's *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847) has a young Maori woman whose appearance has much in common with Eki's. She is wearing a greenstone pendant and white feathers in each ear. She also has a beautifully woven cloak with a taniko border and has a greenstone tiki suspended around her neck.⁶⁷

Foley curiously uses the African word 'grigri' (amulet) to describe the greenstone tiki or hei-tiki that Eki wears around her neck. He presumably does so because it was the word used in French naval circles for amulets from any region. In 1840 Polack made a similar connection between the tiki and what he calls the 'grisgris'.⁶⁸ The tiki could be made of bone or whale's teeth, but the most prized were, like Eki's, made of greenstone.⁶⁹ In 1852 Dr Frouin came across a Maori woman in a Maori hut near Lake Waihora who "portait à son cou une espèce de pierre verte (jaspa) qu'ils regardent comme un talisman".⁷⁰ The tiki, a stylised representation of a human, was worn, suspended at the end of a plaited cord, by both men and women. Among Angas's portraits, one can see a greenstone tiki being worn by leading chiefs, Te Heuheu Tukino, Iwikau, Hamaiti and Na Horua, and by a woman, Te Kauremu, wife of the chief Te Paki.⁷¹ Foley, of course, had a greenstone tiki in his own private collection.

Akaroa II's ornaments are those of a warrior: "Des touffes de cheveux, trophées célèbres, ornent son cou, ses poignets, sa ceinture et ses jambes" (24). Maori men

⁶³ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plates 20 and 15.

⁶⁴ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plate 4.

⁶⁵ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plate 33.

⁶⁶ JR Forster, *The Resolution Journal*, 1982, II, 299.

⁶⁷ Angas, *Early Paintings of the Maori*, 1979, plate 1.

⁶⁸ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 275n.

⁶⁹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 540.

⁷⁰ Frouin, *Journal de bord: 1852-1856*, 1978, p.67.

⁷¹ Angas, *Early Paintings of the Maori*, 1979, plate 2; *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plates 4, 6 and 19.

generally wore belts and necklaces, and sometimes bracelets and anklets (tauri). The belt of undressed flax worn by men seems usually to have been plain, but objects were sometimes tucked into it⁷² and a string of twisted flax could be worn round the wrists and ankles. Sometimes these tauri were made of dogskin or whitau as well.⁷³ It is recorded that the teeth of a slain enemy were often worn as necklaces or ear-pendants,⁷⁴ but there is little indication of human hair being used in the same sort of way. Angas's portraits of Hamaiti and Wiremu Tamihana⁷⁵ have what has been identified as a large ornamental tuft of hair hanging from one ear, but it is more likely to have been a bunch of black feathers. However, hair was certainly taken from slain enemies as a trophy (mawe) and brought back from battle tucked into the victorious warrior's belt to become the focus of victory ceremonies.⁷⁶ Foley may be pointing to a practice that has not often been noted.

Eki's hair is "relevés à la chinoise", creating a sort of sheaf on the top of her head, with a braid around its base and then spilling out at the top in all directions.⁷⁷ Hair tied in a topknot was often observed among Maori men during the early years of European contact, while women were usually described as having short hair that simply hung down. However, this dichotomy has been shown to be over-simple. French sources show that women, as well as men, could wear their head tied up on the crown of their heads: "elles portent comme eux leurs cheveux attachés sur le sommet de la tête où ils forment une espece d'Egrette".⁷⁸ Maynard's memory of Banks Peninsula Maori people in 1840 was of "hair bushy, ruffled and bristling like a porcupine".⁷⁹ Hone Tare Tikao similarly told Herries Beattie:

The koukou (a sort of topknot) was common to both men and women as the former wore the hair long, and is mentioned in the history. There were other methods such as rahiri (in sheaf), tikitiki in a ring, and putiki, and others⁸⁰

⁷² Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 522.

⁷³ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.243-4.

⁷⁴ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 543; Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.246.

⁷⁵ Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, 1979, plates 4 and 33, and p.28.

⁷⁶ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 297; Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, pp.361-2.

⁷⁷ Maynard uses the same expression to describe a Banks Peninsula woman's hair, but it was the result of his own European combing: "I raised her hair after the Chinese manner" (Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.254).

⁷⁸ Lieutenant Dez, in Ollivier (ed), *Extracts from the Journals of the Ships Mascarin and Marquis de Castries*, pp.318-9. An 'aigrette' is a plume.

⁷⁹ Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.178.

⁸⁰ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.243.

Eki's style would seem to be a sort of rahiri. According to Crozet, women's hairstyle showed marital status: "The married women arrange their hair the same as the men; the girls allow their hair to fall naturally on their neck, and cut it so that it does not grow below the shoulders".⁸¹ For JR Forster, on the other hand, there seems to be a distinction between women's formal and informal hair-styles:

their hair are black & short, when dressed they tie them up on the vertex & have a white feather in it⁸²

By the time that Foley was in New Zealand, the topknot style seems to have been rare. Topknots only appear in Angas's generic depictions of warriors and weapons and not in any of his personal portraits.⁸³ Cutting hair short seems to have been a mark of conversion to Christianity⁸⁴ and Foley's Eki is one of the older Maori who did not leave their traditional religion.

Eki's hair is described as being "surchargée de plumes de pigeon" (19) while "de longues plumes diversement colorées couronnent" Akaroa II's proud head (24). The earliest European pictorial and written records often have men with individual feathers or feathered caps in their hair, while women are depicted with a leaf circlet as a headdress. On Cook's first voyage, Joseph Banks wrote that women's hair was "never ornamented with feathers", and Parkinson concurred: "nor do they wear feathers in it". However, Cook and Banks described brown or black feather headdresses being worn by both men and women in Queen Charlotte Sound. These have sometimes, but not entirely convincingly, been interpreted as mourning caps worn by widows,⁸⁵ which would certainly be appropriate for Eki. The bird that these brown or black feathers came from has not been identified, but it is certainly not a pigeon. The feathers of the huia, the white heron and the albatross were particularly prized, but many other feathers were used, including those of the gannet, the kakapo and the long-tailed cuckoo. Hone Tare Tikao from Banks Peninsula mentions that the feathers from "the tail of the kereru or pigeon" were among those sought after for putting into "a circlet for the head called pare".⁸⁶ Choosing the feathers of a

⁸¹ Crozet's *Voyage*, trans. Roth, 1891, p.38. See P Wallace, "Traditional Maori Dress", 2002, pp.91-2.

⁸² JR Forster, *The Resolution Journal*, 1982, II, 292.

⁸³ Angas, *Early Paintings of the Maori*, 1979, plate 21.

⁸⁴ Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*, 1969, pp.27-8.

⁸⁵ Mead, *Traditional Maori Clothing*, 1969, p.67, referring to the interpretations of Buck and Hamilton.

⁸⁶ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.241.

particular bird could have symbolic value, but any association that Eki might have been wishing to express through her pigeon feathers is not immediately evident.⁸⁷

Eki has a “coffret rouge” (47, 54), a “trésor” which is be handed on to Ouéréra after her death. This is presumably a waka-huia, a small carved wooden container for keeping small objects like feathers, combs, cloak-pins and tikis in. They could be oblong or shaped like a canoe and, occasionally, as with Eki’s, they were painted with red ochre (kokowai).⁸⁸ Foley makes no mention of the carving on Eki’s box.

Although Foley describes Eki’s clothes as “royal”, a number of aspects of her appearance disturb the youthful Édouard. There is an insistence, for example, on the extreme dirtiness of her clothes: her cloak is “crasseuse à l’excès”, her kilt is “sale et presque en lambeaux” and the taniko borders are covered in an “épaisse couche de malpropreté”. Other European observers frequently made the same sort of comment:

j’en ai cependant vû une jolie, dont Les traits etoient assé Reguliers, mais ses yeux repondoient mal au Reste de sa figure, elle Pouvoit avoir 15 ou 16 ans, elle Etoit aussi degoutante que les Laides, par la Malpropreté qui leur est Commune avec les Hommes.⁸⁹

Édouard also finds it hard to conceal the aversion he feels for the whale oil that Eki covers herself in, although it was usually shark oil that was used in conjunction with red ochre to make the hair and body more beautiful:

ils se metent dans les cheveux une peinture Rouge deleïez avec de L’huile [...] ils sen metent aussi sur le front, quelqu’uns même s’en frotent tout Le corps⁹⁰

On Banks Peninsula in the early 1840s when whaling was at its height, it is extremely likely, however, that whale oil was used for the same purpose. Men seem to have used skin pigments more than women, but the use of oil which then turned rancid meant that all those who painted themselves were “highly malodorous” to Europeans.⁹¹ Édouard objects too, on aesthetic grounds, to the feathers in Eki’s hair

⁸⁷ P. Wallace, “Traditional Maori Dress”, 2002, pp.119, 131-4, 139-40; Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p.302-3; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, p.64.

⁸⁸ Barrow, *The Decorative Arts of the New Zealand Maori*, 1972, pp.22-3. See plate 20.

⁸⁹ Pottier de l’Horme, in Ollivier and Hingley (trans), *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste*, 1982, pp.119-20.

⁹⁰ Pottier de l’Horme, in Ollivier and Hingley (trans), *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste*, 1982, p.124.

⁹¹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 545.

which is “ridiculement” over-supplied with them, according to his taste. He also finds that she is “tout à fait défigurée” by her tattoos (18).

The parallel blue lines on her face are so numerous and dark that she seems to have a lozenge-shaped hole in her skull between her eyebrows. Around Eki’s lips, two large black tattooed lips seem to be swallowing her real red lips and, in addition, she has “riche tatouage incrusté” on her lower abdomen, hips, buttocks and upper thighs. There are also what Édouard considers less repulsive “petites croix d’azur” on her neck, shoulders, chest, arms and “le restant de son corps”.

Children were not tattooed but, according to Tregear,⁹² a woman was tattooed before she was married. William Colenso wrote that the tattooing of Maori women was confined to the lips, the chin, the space between the eyes, a little way up the forehead, and on the back of the leg from the heel to the calf, with the last three always indicative of rank. In addition, he reported the irregular marking of the hands, arms, breast and face with small crosses, short lines and dots.⁹³ This corresponds to most of Eki’s tattoos, including the little blue crosses but Foley does not mention any tattoo on the chin, apart from the extra lower lip. However, Eki does have elaborate tattoos on several parts of her body that Colenso does not mention—her lower abdomen, hips and buttocks—although Hone Tare Tikao indicates that southern women sometimes had the elaborate tattooing that was found only on men in the north.

It is not altogether clear from this description whether it was the presence or absence of parallel blue lines in the area between her eyebrows that gave the impression that Eki had a hole in her face. Many women did have a tattoo known as a hotiki on their brow between the eyes.⁹⁴ It was, according to Tregear, a sign that the woman was of high rank⁹⁵ and usually consisted of a symmetrical pattern, which could be “a small diamond formed by two triangles”.⁹⁶ Banks Peninsula women were seen by one

⁹² Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.265.

⁹³ Colenso, “On a Better Knowledge of the Maori Race”, *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, (1881), quoted Robley, *Moko*, 1896, pp.44-5.

⁹⁴ Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, pp.312-3; Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.265.

⁹⁵ Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.265.

⁹⁶ Simmons, *Ta Moko*, 1997, p.29.

French observer as typically having a “tattooed star” adorning their forehead⁹⁷ and some illustrations of the hotiki show how easy it would be to gain the impression of a lozenge-shaped hole in the head.⁹⁸

On the other hand, Foley may be implying that Eki has tattooing all over her face. A full facial tattoo that has been reported is the moko-kuri, which had rows of short parallel lines, alternately vertical and horizontal, all over the face “except between the eyes, where a peculiar mark was made”. It was seen as an ancient style that was no longer found in the late nineteenth century.⁹⁹ In the South Island, in particular, there was an old style of tattooing, associated with the Waitaha but still used in the early nineteenth century, in which “Two straight lines ran across each cheek with dots between them at intervals”¹⁰⁰ and they were punctured, not chiselled. However, Eki’s “lignes bleuâtres et parallèles, si nombreuses” were not necessarily straight lines. Hone Tare Tikao recorded that his grandmother Hakeke “was tattooed all over the face like some other South Island women—the name of that tattooing was moko-pokere”.¹⁰¹ This is a full spiral tattoo found on some South Island women in the early nineteenth century, but not on North Island women. The spirals could leave a blank space between the eye-brows which could appear to be a lozenge-shaped hole. This interpretation fits in better with Foley’s idea that Eki was completely disfigured by her tattoo.

In his book describing his travels in the South Island, Edward Shortland wrote that the “women have usually merely the lines on the lips, and a scroll depending from the angles of the mouth”.¹⁰² Eki’s tattooing seems to be above her upper lip and below her lower lip, rather than on the lips themselves. This is a feature noted by Polack:

The females are marked but rarely, with the exception of the lips, over and under which horizontal lines are made and stained blue¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.191.

⁹⁸ Eg, Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 551.

⁹⁹ Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.262; Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 549. A Tregear drawing of this style is found in White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, 1887-1890, vol. I, frontispiece.

¹⁰⁰ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.66.

¹⁰¹ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.250.

¹⁰² Shortland, *The Southern Districts*, 1851, p.18.

¹⁰³ Polack, *New Zealand: Being a Narrative*, 1838, I, 384.

This sort of tattoo can be seen in a number of pictures from the early nineteenth century. Tawiti's wife, for example, was depicted by de Sainson in 1826 with a single line above and below her lips, but several 1844 portraits by Angus have more complex lines in the same positions.¹⁰⁴

Although there are a number of descriptions of tattoos (known as takitaki) between a woman's breasts and her abdomen, tattoos on the lower abdomen have rarely been attested. A "Pattern of tatu on mons veneris of a Maori woman of rank" was recorded by Edward Shortland and redrawn by HG Robley.¹⁰⁵

A woman with a buttock tattoo was drawn by Sydney Parkinson in 1769 on Cook's first voyage. The tattoo extends over the hips and onto the upper thigh.¹⁰⁶ Pottier de L'Horme also recorded such a tattoo as general among the women he encountered at that same time, talking of "La Peinture des fesses quelles ont Communes avec les Hommes".¹⁰⁷ By the time Foley was in New Zealand, however, buttock tattoo on women seems to have become very rare. Bidwill recorded seeing one when he was travelling through the North Island in 1839 and commented on how unusual it was there.¹⁰⁸

Foley sees the little blue crosses as the results of the scarification that women inflicted upon themselves during mourning and something similar was witnessed by Thiercelin during his 1840 visit to Akaroa. He saw a newly widowed woman having her face, breasts and belly cut deeply with sharp shells by female relatives. The vertical wounds then had a dye (narahu) poured into them to blacken their edges.¹⁰⁹ Edward Shortland indicates, however, that they were simply "the offspring of each person's fancy".¹¹⁰ The name for this type of tattooing was pukaewae and it was usually only women who had it. Tregear talks of pukaewae on the cheeks and forehead, rather than all over the body¹¹¹ and the young wife of Kaka, Maynard's

¹⁰⁴ Reproduced in Simmons, *Ta Moko*, 1997, pp.108-9.

¹⁰⁵ Simmons, *Ta Moko*, 1997, p.113.

¹⁰⁶ Reproduced in Simmons, *Ta Moko*, 1997, p.101.

¹⁰⁷ Pottier de l'Horme, in Ollivier and Hingley (trans), *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste*, 1982, p.123.

¹⁰⁸ Bidwill, *Rambles in New Zealand*, 1841, p.80.

¹⁰⁹ Thiercelin, *Travels in Oceania*, 1995, p.150.

¹¹⁰ Shortland, *The Southern Districts*, 1851, p.18.

¹¹¹ Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.262.

‘tayo’ at Little Port Cooper, had “breast and shoulders ornamented with little blue stars”.¹¹²

Foley points out that for Eki, at least, the motive for her spiral tattooing was to make herself beautiful: it was the result of the “vaniteuse coquetterie de sa jeunesse” (19). For men, on the other hand, he appears to have sometimes, or in some ways, accepted a common belief that the tattooing marks had particular significance with regard to heroic deeds having been done or ranks in society having been achieved. After Akaroa I has won a battle, Eki speaks of a “scribe” tracing onto his face “les gracieuses courbes de la victoire” (27). Tattooing is likened several times to a European “blason”, and the dye is “l’encre bleu de la noblesse” (27). Little is said of the nature of the tattoo that Akaroa I is given, apart from it being graciously curved and on one side of his face only, so as to reserve the other side “pour les tatouages qu’il veut gagner encore” (28). This gives him a face that is “moitié noire et moitié blanche” (28). This is rather ironic in that Akaroa I has won this tattoo through defeating Tikao and it has been recorded that it was the historical Tikao, Hoani Tikao, who was “tattooed on one side of his face only in a curved design. Being [tattooed] only on one side was moko-tahitahi or sometimes called kawetahi”.¹¹³ Akaroa II contrasts with his father in not having any tattoo at all (36). This is probably because he is described as a very young man and the deeds of his mature years are not recounted in detail.

Foley describes the process of tattooing, the many days it takes, and the pain, bleeding and swelling it causes. It is done with “la dent acérée du marsouin”, it is staunched with “de l’étoupe” (27) and coloured with “encre bleue” and the black “charbon du tatouage” (36). The tattooing chisel used by the Maori was called an uhi, which could be made of whalebone, shark’s tooth, a sea-bird’s wing-bone, stone or hard wood. Foley does not mention the mallet that was used to strike the chisel. In his detailed description of the process of tattooing, Te Rangikaheke told Sir George Grey:

¹¹² Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.223.

¹¹³ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.250.

Then the tohunga takes the charcoal and the tow in one hand. The chisel is only in this hand, the left. In the right hand is the mallet, the charcoal and the tow, three things in one hand.¹¹⁴

A piece of soft, scraped flax, hungahunga, was used as a tow or 'étoupe' while the pigment used differed from place to place but was often the burnt and powdered resin of certain trees.¹¹⁵ Foley's description of the process is accurate and convincing.

Maori housing

Eki's house, in the middle of a bare patch of earth, is "une hutte en dôme de trois à quatre pieds de haut" (18). The use of the word "hutte", when Foley usually writes "case", suggests that it was even more impermanent than usual. Traditional Maori houses are normally thought of today as rectangular buildings of different sizes, not too unlike ordinary European houses but with a single, largeish door and window in the front behind a verandah-type structure and these rectangular buildings existed both before and after European contact.¹¹⁶

There was, however, a greater variety of housing than this common assumption suggests. This was partly the result of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle which required temporary dwellings in a number of different places, but there were also different types of houses within a particular village. The South Island Maori had a range of dwellings that included round houses, including porotaka in the south and whare-potae in the Nelson area:

The chiefs and upper classes usually had houses of the \wedge shape and if these were of fair size they were sometimes designated whare-nui to distinguish them from the round houses, which were also called whare, although their particular name was porotaka [...] In addition to the ordinary \wedge whare, round houses called whare-potae were made. These were only sleeping huts.¹¹⁷

Pottier de l'Horme saw round huts in the far north of the North Island in 1769: "quelques-unes construite[s] en Rond, et couvertes de Roseaux; Mais elles ne mont pas Parus être des cases, destinée[s] à une [h]abitation fixe".¹¹⁸ The shape of Eki's

¹¹⁴ Simmons, *Ta Moko*, 1997, p.159.

¹¹⁵ Robley, *Moko*, 1896, pp.48-63.

¹¹⁶ Trotter, McCulloch and Wilson, *Digging up the Past*, 1997, p.39.

¹¹⁷ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, pp.41, 471.

¹¹⁸ Pottier de l'Horme, in Ollivier and Hingley (trans), *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste*, 1982, p.126.

hut closely resembles that of a hut seen in Dusky Sound in 1791, which was also about four feet high:

of [...] obtuse conic form, about four feet high and six in diameter at the bottom, composed of slender sticks crossing each other and fastened together with twigs, closely thatched all over with grass and ferns, with the marks of a fire place before the door of it.¹¹⁹

A 1777 painting by John Webber of the houses that were rapidly built in Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte Sound during Cook's third voyage provides early pictorial evidence for round houses.¹²⁰ In the Chathams, too, some houses were described as

a few poles reared together over a circular pit, two or three feet deep, covered in with sods, thus forming a cone-shaped hut.¹²¹

Savage, speaking of the "common lodging-huts of the natives" as he saw them in the North Island in 1806, describes them as being "in appearance, not unlike a beehive".¹²² He furthermore says of the appearance of a seated Maori family that "They give you the idea of a village, composed of a number of small huts, one of which is formed by each individual".¹²³ These comments refer to the fact that, as Marsden noted on his 1814 visit, the Maori tended to squat directly on the ground wrapped in their flax cloaks, looking, to European eyes, like round European beehives which were often made from straw: "some of them put out their heads from under the top of their kakkahows [kakahu], which are like a beehive".¹²⁴ Since Savage compared such a group of seated Maori to a village it is to be assumed that he meant a village of equally round-shaped dwellings which would have been scarcely higher than a seated person, in any case, and made of dry plant material. Some kakahu and the walls of some houses were equally made of raupo, as it happens, but he is unlikely to have made the comparison, in the first place, if the villages he had seen consisted predominantly of rectangularly-shaped dwellings.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, 1998, p.91.

¹²⁰ Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land*, 1981, plate 16a, opposite p.39.

¹²¹ Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856, p.18.

¹²² Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand*, 1807, p.15.

¹²³ Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand*, 1807, pp.49-50.

¹²⁴ Marsden, *The Letters and Journals*, 1932, p.89.

There are photographs of whare porotaka of different sizes that were still being used on the titi islands in Foveaux Strait at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹²⁵

Archaeologists have found widespread evidence, especially in the South Island, of round houses or huts: round depressions in the ground with raised rims and accompanied by domestic materials, sometimes with internal hearths. Among these is one at Waikakahi, which is very near where Eki's house is supposedly sited and an attempted reconstruction of this particular "pit house" has been drawn.¹²⁶ Atholl Anderson has suggested that our view of Maori dwellings needs to be completely revised and that, "conceivably [...], round huts were the standard dwelling of southern New Zealand for most of the pre-European period".¹²⁷ The example of Eki's hut provides further evidence for such a view.

Eki's hut has "une toute petite palissade" in front of it to create a "cour d'honneur". Maori huts were used to sleep in and eating and socialising took place in the area immediately in front of the entrance. In a larger village, there would be an area in front of the large meeting-house which would be "the marae or courtyard, where dances or meetings could be held, or speeches made".¹²⁸ Low palisades are seen around the groups of houses and storehouses depicted in two Akaroa works by Meryon.¹²⁹ These are not the defensive walls of a pa, but the marking off of a boundary for, within villages, fences were used to mark off the houses of a family group.¹³⁰ Fences became important after the introduction of pigs to protect houses and the immediate area around them from their predations, but they existed in pre-European times as well. Sir Joseph Banks reported on Cook's first voyage:

Some few of the better sort have kind of Court Yards, the Walls of which are made of Poles & hay 10 or 12 feet high which as their families are large incloses 3 or 4 houses¹³¹

Foley says that Eki had put some mud up to protect her house from the sea winds which would have been cold southwesterlies coming in across the lake. Although

¹²⁵ Anderson, "'Makeshift Structures of Little Importance': A Reconsideration of Maori Round Huts", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 95 (1986) 104-5, figs. 4 and 5.

¹²⁶ Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land*, 1981, p.153.

¹²⁷ Anderson, "'Makeshift Structures of Little Importance': A Reconsideration of Maori Round Huts", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 95 (1986) 109.

¹²⁸ Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p.73.

¹²⁹ Reproduced in P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, pp.81 and 243 (detail).

¹³⁰ Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand*, 1896, p.73.

¹³¹ Banks, *Sir Joseph Banks in New Zealand from his Journal*, 1958, p.135.

Banks spoke of Maori building a “small shade to Windward” when they rested on their travels,¹³² mud walls were normally only part of a pa’s fortifications. Moki’s pa and the Orariki pa at Taumutu, on the southwestern shore of Waihora, had earth walls one and a half metres and two metres tall separating them from the surrounding swamp.¹³³ Like the pile of mud at Eki’s place, these defensive walls were on the south or southwestern side of the pa, so could have been seen by a European observer as offering shelter from the cold southerly winds.

Canoes

Akaroa I’s war canoe, at the head of a large fleet, is described in some detail (22). Its length, we are told, is sixteen times the height of a man, so over eighty feet in nineteenth-century terms, it is blood-red in colour and eighty paddles propel it swiftly through the water. The figurehead has a fretwork of tattoo-like designs, while the sharp cut-water at the front of the hull has a sculpture of the god of war, with protruding tongue, lying along its stem. Other carved ornamentation also bears his image, while feathers adorn various parts of the canoe: white, black and green feathers form a band along its top-strakes and the prow is crowned with garlands of feathers and slim dog-vanes. Its finely sculpted “château de poupe” has long streamers trailing behind it. Akaroa I is seated on a throne in the middle of the canoe, with Taia at his feet.

Early European observers, like Cook and Earle, described particularly large war canoes, waka taua, as being some eighty feet long, sometimes longer, and having eighty or more paddlers¹³⁴, which means that Akaroa I’s canoe is, as Foley indicates, one of the larger, rather than average-sized, war canoes. Red paint, which could be a brilliant red, was normally used, although small parts of the war canoe could be black.¹³⁵ To be tattoo-like, the carvings of Akaroa I’s figurehead or tauihu were presumably spiral shaped, probably in the form of the double scroll that was found in most war canoes.¹³⁶ Feathers, particularly albatros feathers, frequently adorned war canoes, while the dog-vanes on the figurehead are the hihi, slim rods of manuka or

¹³² Banks, *Sir Joseph Banks in New Zealand from his Journal*, 1958, p.135.

¹³³ Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land*, 1981, pp.154-5 and map 83.

¹³⁴ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.54, 56, 62, 168-75.

¹³⁵ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.161-4.

¹³⁶ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.142-50.

tanekaha wood, that had bunches of feathers tied at intervals along them.¹³⁷ Best wonders what their original purpose was, but Foley, as a sailor, is presumably suggesting that they indicated the direction of the wind since the sails used by the Maori would not have been very useful for tacking.

Sometimes, as on Akaroa's canoe, "a figure or head, grotesquely human, was carved on the underneath surface of the prow of a canoe"¹³⁸ and the top-strakes (rauawa) along the sides of the hull could, as d'Urville observed in 1827, have their whole length sculptured in bas-relief¹³⁹: this is where Foley would have seen the "image tutélaire" of what he took to be the god of war. Feathers were often placed all along the top-strake through the holes that were used for lashing it onto the top of the carved-out hull of the canoe. The white, black and green feathers that Foley mentions show that Akaroa II's canoe did not have just the white feathers of the albatross, gannets and other sea-birds that were particularly favoured, but feathers from other birds that other early observers also noted.¹⁴⁰ By saying that the feathers formed a "ceinture", Foley may simply be indicating that they appeared at very regular intervals all the way around the canoe, rather than that they were continuous.

Although it usually means an afterdeck, Foley's "château de poupe" must refer to the canoe's ornamental stern-piece, taurapa, which was a part of the waka taua that was particularly elaborately carved. The banderoles or streamers that were, as Foley remarks, suspended from the stern-piece and often dangled in the water are the puhī moana ariki, made from feathers, that are represented in illustrations from Cook's voyages.¹⁴¹

Foley's description of Akaroa's canoe does, however, contain two features which are historically and culturally more than dubious. A chief would often stand in the middle of a canoe but, in New Zealand, a war canoe did not have a raised platform and a throne for him to sit on. This was a feature of the more stable double-hulled canoes found in many other Polynesian islands, where an elevated platform was lashed across the two parts of the canoe. In 1862, for example, a Samoan double-

¹³⁷ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.144.

¹³⁸ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.147.

¹³⁹ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.129.

¹⁴⁰ Forster described brown feathers, while Nicholas talked of the feathers of "emu, parrots and other birds" (Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.55, 129-30).

¹⁴¹ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, figs. 10 and 68, and pp.151-2.

canoe had a strong deck that could take a hundred men and on it was “a small platform upon which the chief sits”.¹⁴² Similarly, in the Cook Islands double-canoes, there was a staging “walled in as a protection from the weather, while a portion was raised and ornamented as a place for the chiefs: it was then called *ura*.”¹⁴³ This is not the only instance in *Eki* where Foley has borrowed a detail from another Polynesian society that he had visited or read about: we have seen that he borrowed the name, *Iotete*, from the Marquesas Islands. The other anomaly in Foley’s description is that, although the canoe is described while it is moving in to attack *Tikao* and his people and would therefore have been made *tapu* for war, a woman, *Taia*, is said to be on board. Women did accompany men to war, but they would be in a separate canoe, along with any cooked food for the men, because both women and cooked food would infringe *tapu* if they were transported on the war canoe itself.¹⁴⁴ This seems to show a momentary lapse in Foley’s awareness of the rules of *tapu*, if not ignorance of a basic aspect of it.

Food

The requirements of *Eki*’s story mean that Foley mentions only a very limited range of food eaten by the Maori: fish (especially eels), fern-root, moa and people. References to hunting and eating moa are limited to grand oratorical statements about the past: they are not eaten in the present-day ordinary life of Maori people. *Mopou* the mighty hunter is, however, reputed to have killed moa (and *taïpo*), and so this makes moa-hunting an activity in the more recent past (20). Fern-root is mentioned on several occasions as a food that is sucked—“*les Mahouris suçaient la fougère*” (20)—and which is associated with the manly courage that *Iotété* lacked, “*Iotété qui jamais ne suçait la fougère, lait précieux du courage mahouri*” (22). Fern-root was a staple food for Maori.¹⁴⁵ Because Banks Peninsula was at the southern limit of where *kumara* could be grown, there was an increased dependence on fern-root, which grew more or less anywhere. *Wairewa*, as we have seen, was reputed among the Maori for its fern-root.¹⁴⁶ After being dug up, it was dried and then stored

¹⁴² Quoted in Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.340.

¹⁴³ Quoted in Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.289.

¹⁴⁴ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.62, 167.

¹⁴⁵ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 190.

¹⁴⁶ Stack, “Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers”, in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, p.8.

for long periods. Before it was eaten, it would be soaked in water, roasted lightly and then pounded. This left

the inside consisting of a small proportion of a glutinous pulp, mixd with many fibres which they generally spit out after have suck'd each mouthfull a long time¹⁴⁷

Fern-root was, as Foley says, associated with courage and warfare. He makes it almost a synonym for war:

Tes guerriers délaissent maintenant la fougère maigre (j'en conviens), mais tenace et indestructible; pour s'empiffrer des chairs du manchot surchargé de graisse, gauche à la marche et toujours prêt à fuir. Garde, à force d'en faire leurs délices, qu'ils ne deviennent comme lui! (27)

Because it was relatively light and did not spoil during travel, fern-root was the food of warriors on a military expedition. "Only fern-root is eaten by a war party; it only is the food of Tu, the god of war; kumara and all other kinds of food are forbidden until the war is over," wrote John White.¹⁴⁸ To say that Iouikao's pa was prepared for war, Eki says that it was "plein de fougère et d'armes" (41). The Maori, themselves, normally contrasted fern-root with kumara, a luxury food, which was associated with peace.¹⁴⁹ Eki, however, contrasts fern-root, symbol of the Stoic life of the noble warrior, with penguin flesh, seen as a symbol for cowardliness and gluttony. Penguins and other sea birds were caught and eaten by the Maori, particularly at certain times of the year, and penguin bones are found by archaeologists in coastal middens. At a site at the mouth of the Shag River in Otago, bird remains included moa, kaka, albatross, weka, quail, shag and penguin.¹⁵⁰ In Kaikoura, the main foods of the Maori were birds, "moas, kiwis and several smaller forest species, various seabirds, including penguins, and ducks".¹⁵¹ In 1773 George Forster observed a very poignant incident in which a young Maori boy demanded "a piece of broiled pinguin" from his mother.¹⁵² However, there is no evidence that Foley's use of the penguin to symbolise gluttony and cowardice was an association in the Maori mind.

¹⁴⁷ Banks, *Sir Joseph Banks in New Zealand from his Journal*, 1958, p.137.

¹⁴⁸ White, *Te Rou*, 1874, p.114.

¹⁴⁹ Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, pp.39-40.

¹⁵⁰ "Shag Mouth Layers Rich in Human Living", *The Press*, 10 Feb 1989.

¹⁵¹ McCulloch, "New Zealand's First-comers: The Maori at Kaikoura", in Wilson (ed.), *The Past Today. Historic Places in New Zealand*, 1987. See also, for another site, Leach and Leach, *Prehistoric Man in Palliser Bay*, 1979, pp. 258, 261.

¹⁵² G Forster, *Werke*, 1968, I, 294.

Ducks were seen as indiscriminate eaters and caterpillars (awhato) symbolised gluttony. Foley's image this time is a good one, but not an authentic Maori one.

Although he does not describe eels actually being eaten, Foley gives a lengthy and detailed description of the process of smoking them so that they could be stored for later consumption. Some twenty Maori, men and women, old and young, are seen to be taking eels and wiping them dry, slicing them open, spreading them out, spitting them and threading them with cord before taking them to where they are suspended over thick smoke. Supported by four extremely stout posts, which have a fifteen-inch notch cut out of them to prevent rats climbing up, there is a sort of rack some ten feet above the ground from which the serried ranks of eels hang down over the fire. The Maori climb up and down sloping beams and then crawl about on the platform. The burning wood is rather green and has the grease from the eels dripping onto it, which makes the process of curing eels smelly as well as smoky (52-3).

Nearly all the elements of Foley's description can be found in various combinations in the relatively few other accounts of eel smoking. The methods employed seem to have depended on the number and the size of the eels to be cured. The scaffold or rack was called a *tirewa*, which would have green rods laid across it, with rows of overlapping eels suspended from them. Large eels could be wiped dry, opened down the belly, impaled on rods (*kauitia*), tied in pairs with flax, suspended over a long bed of embers covered with green brushwood (*ahi rara tuna*) and turned at intervals to ensure that first the inside and then the skin-side were dried.¹⁵³ Foley is alone in alluding to the burning of fat—and so he may simply have seen the fat from the eels dripping into the embers—and he goes into more detail about the size and construction of the *tirewa* than other observers. Photographs of twentieth-century and late nineteenth-century drying racks for eels have been published, but not of the sort of *tirewa* standing over a fire that Foley describes.¹⁵⁴

When Akaroa I defeats Tikao, a feast ensues in which Akaroa, as the chief, is given the brain, eyes, hands and feet of Tikao while his men indulge themselves in an orgy of gluttony, eating human and other meat until they are bloated and can hardly move (27). According to Foley, only the few enemies killed in the battle were eaten. In

¹⁵³ The testimonies of Tikao and others in Best, *Fishing Methods and Devices of the Maori*, 1977, pp.114-6, 119-20, 231.

¹⁵⁴ King, *Maori. A Photographic and Social History*, 1983, pp.154, 156-7.

fact, after winning a battle, while Maori warriors did collect the bodies of the enemy dead and prepare them for eating, they were not necessarily so particular for, either immediately or later, they could also kill and eat any of the captured enemies who, having been defeated, had lost status and become slaves. Victor Lottin, ensign aboard the *Coquille* on her 1824 journey to New Zealand, specifically commented on the fact that:

Ce ne sont pas Seulement les ennemis tués sur le champ de bataille qui Servent à leurs horrible festins; les femmes des chefs tués Sont obligées de venir Se livrer entre les mains de ces cannibales; des prisonniers sont massacrés de Sang froid plusieurs jours après, leurs lambeaux palpitants Sont partagés entre les amis du vainqueur.¹⁵⁵

Other writers have, like Foley, emphasised the huge quantities of meat eaten at the feast that followed a military victory: “The gluttony of the victors has been such, that numbers have sunk under the horrible debauch unable to recover from their brutal orgies.”¹⁵⁶ Certain parts of the human body, including the roasted heart and the uncooked brains and eyes, were known to be reserved for important chiefs,¹⁵⁷ but whether, as Foley claims, hands and feet should be included in such a list is unconfirmed.

Foley sees two sets of motives behind cannibalism. A victorious chief (Akaroa I) eats his defeated counterpart (Tikao) as the culmination of the process of the conquest, totally destroying his adversary and absorbing all his good qualities—“l’esprit, la clairvoyance, la force et la vitesse” (26)—so that no one in Tikao’s tribe can now claim to be his heir. On the other hand, Akaroa I’s slaves have very base motives for they are “brutes” interested only in consuming in one day what would have kept them alive for forty. Foley is attributing to different groups of people some of the mixed motives that lay behind the practice of cannibalism. There is plenty of evidence to support the view that the Maori enjoyed the taste of human flesh and that this sort of binge-eating occurred, and it is also clear that cannibal feasts were held after a military victory as part of the process of humiliating one’s adversaries and asserting one’s own mana. The most insulting thing you could say about a person

¹⁵⁵ Ollivier (trans), *Extracts from New Zealand Journals Written on Ships under the Command of d’Entrecasteaux and Duperrey, 1793 and 1824*, 1986, p.117.

¹⁵⁶ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, II, 10; see also Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 1859, I, 144-5.

¹⁵⁷ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 1859, I, 144-7.

was that you would eat him, and any such association with food was an attack on a person's mana.

However, while Foley's view that the Maori acquired the virtues and strengths of their adversaries through eating them was widespread in the nineteenth century¹⁵⁸, this was a notion that was generalised from other non-Polynesian societies for it does not fit in with the way that Polynesians thought. One's mana was increased by debasing a powerful enemy through killing him and eating his brain and his eyes. There was no transfer of mana but, rather, an annihilation of the other which left the victorious person alone and unchallenged.¹⁵⁹ Although Foley saw the devastation caused by Hone Heke's continuing war in the Bay of Islands and the signs that still remained around Akaroa Harbour of Te Rauparaha's earlier wars against the Banks Peninsula Maori, he did not witness cannibalism and so had to rely on the oral or written accounts of other people for his description of Akaroa I's victory ceremonies.

Social class

When Foley distinguishes between warriors and slaves in a sentence that also opposes men and women, the elderly and children (38), he is saying that these are all significant categories in Maori society. Slaves, who are seen as brutish (26), can be sacrificed without any compunction to appease the envious Maui when Akaroa II is born (32) and, when Akaroa I dies, his son piles up the bodies of the slaves he has sacrificed to compensate for the difficult relations he had had with his father. At the head of the warriors is the ariki, which Foley translates as 'chef' (32) when one might expect 'grand chef'. The ariki has leadership qualities or, if, like Iotété or the aging Akaroa I, he loses them, he is supplanted by someone else who has the right attributes. A new ariki is appointed by the decision of an assembled council: "les Mahouris consternés tinrent conseil; Akaroa devint chef" (23). While Akaroa II succeeds his father, Akaroa I, on the double grounds of birth and character, the replacement of Iotété by Akaroa I is presented as the result of the latter's personal qualities rather than his birth. Chiefly qualities include being 'ambitieux',

¹⁵⁸ Eg, R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd edition, 1870, pp.173, 575; Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.236.

¹⁵⁹ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, 1859, I, 147; Best, *Notes on the Art of War*, 2001, pp.64-5; Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1950, p.401; Johansen, *The Maori and his Religion*, 1954, p.107.

‘majestueux’, ‘lucide et terrible’, ‘magnanime’, ‘audacieux’ and showing an ‘ardeur guerrière’ (28), while being ‘lâche’ and ‘gourmand’ (22) are obviously disqualifying characteristics.

The warriors may be cruel, but they have status as the hero’s “fidèles” (28, 39), his “compagnons” (27) and “compagnons d’armes” (29). Among them, however, Foley distinguishes those who are well-born and Akaroa II’s mana is enhanced by “son glorieux cortège de nobles” (40). The ariki’s wife belongs to this class of people who are “de haute naissance” (22), the ariki’s tattoos are seen as his coats-of-arms (28), and the words ‘noble’ and ‘noblesse’ (28) are used to describe him, so it is birth as well as character which allows him to rise to the top.

Certain physical deformities are also signs that a man has special status: Akaroa II, for example, has six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, which make even Maui envious (37). His father, Akaroa I, is possessed by three spirits which make him “fou, bossu et boiteux. Trois fois, donc, il était taboué. Donc trois fois on le vénérât” (22). The historical figure, Kihau (c1830-1852), the eldest son of the leading southern chief, Tuhawaiki, did indeed have six toes on each foot, a trait that he had inherited from his great-uncle, Whakataupuka, who had been a dominant figure in the south of the South Island until his death in the early 1830s. The extra toe was seen by Tuhawaiki as a sign that his son would be a great man.¹⁶⁰ A number of nineteenth-century North Island chiefs also had six toes, including Nga Tata, who “has six toes on his left foot: a peculiarity that characterizes Rauparaha and several other chiefs”.¹⁶¹ Turakautahi, one of the leaders of the Ngai Tahu conquest of the Canterbury region, had a club foot, making him ‘boiteux’ like Akaroa I and in need of a walking-stick.¹⁶² His son, Rakiama, is the ancestor that Ngai Tahu families still see as marking their high status. The special significance of these physical deformities goes back to archetypal stories which Foley would have read in Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology* where, for example, Turi realises, because he comes across crooked footprints on the beach, “exactly suiting a deformed foot which he had”, that Tuanui-a-te-ra has miraculously survived being thrown into the sea. This conveys a

¹⁶⁰ Shortland, *The Southern Districts*, 1851, p.82.

¹⁶¹ Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, 1847, I, 235.

¹⁶² Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, 1998, p.37.

sense of wonder and leads to commemorating the event in the naming of the place O-hinga-hape (the place of the crooked foot).¹⁶³

Maori society did have two distinct classes: the rangatira (which can be translated as the well-born) and the taurekareka (slaves). A rangatira would become a taurekareka immediately if he or she were captured in battle and, once people had been slaves, the shame remained even after they were freed. When he talks of slaves as boorish, it is not clear that Foley appreciated that they had previously been rangatira, although he could, of course, have been thinking of the degradation they suffered after their capture. Slaves were of great economic value to their masters as they were never tapu and were able to perform a wide range of menial and unpleasant tasks.¹⁶⁴

Because Maori accorded superior status to earlier-born siblings and, especially, prized the status of the first-born, there were distinctions within the rangatira class between those who were descended from an elder or the eldest son and those who traced their whakapapa back through a younger son. Nevertheless, while the rangatira showed respect for a high-born chief, they retained an independence of mind and did not just follow orders. Choosing an ariki or making any decision that affected the whole group required discussion among all those involved. Being the eldest son of the previous ariki normally led to a man inheriting the leadership role, but sometimes a particularly able younger son could be chosen. Te Rauparaha provided a rather unusual example of a very junior relation succeeding a high chief by putting himself forward boldly when the dying high chief Hapekituarangi asked the assembled people if there was anyone who could take his place,¹⁶⁵ while a French explorer had noted a similar case in Hongi Hika:

Bien que le père de Shongui fût aussi *rangatira*, il n'appartenait pas cépendant aux premiers rangs de sa tribu, et c'était principalement à sa bravoure personnelle que son fils avait dû sa puissance et son influence sur toutes les tribus du nord d'Ika-Na-Mawi.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.169-71.

¹⁶⁴ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1972, pp.214-5.

¹⁶⁵ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, 1983, pp.31-2.

¹⁶⁶ Duperrey, *Voyage autour du monde*, 1825, III, 675-6.

A distinction between chiefs and commoners is hard to maintain, however, as members of a given tribe were closely related and no individual rangatira accepted that he was low-born.¹⁶⁷

Foley, then, seems to show an appreciation of this state of affairs, with Akaroa I standing up for himself against Iotété's leadership and also staking his own claims to be a worthier husband to Taia. Akaroa II and Eki, herself, have this same pride, standing up for themselves against people of mana, but one character, Toma-Kéké, is the exception in being cowardly and sycophantic while still being seen as superior in social position to "les Mahouris" who follow behind him (54). Slaves were sacrificed on certain important occasions, as Foley indicates, and they could also be killed and eaten which, in his desire to explain sympathetically the practice of cannibalism, he does not mention.¹⁶⁸

Often the ariki was also a tohunga, 'a priestly expert, and learned in tribal lore'.¹⁶⁹ The term 'tohunga' is not mentioned in *Eki*, but one could argue that Eki's mother and Eki herself were acting as tohunga by learning and transmitting "les exploits glorieux de leurs Atouas; leurs Tabous pleins de sagesse; et les hauts faits des héros mahouris" (35), a task normally assumed by men, but not always, as Dieffenbach points out:

It is not significative of a class separated from the rest by certain distinctions of rank, nor are its prerogatives merely confined to the men; a tohunga is sometimes the ariki, or hereditary chief, sometimes a rangatira, or even a slave, or an old woman.¹⁷⁰

In its widest sense, the word tohunga, in fact, merely meant a wise or knowledgeable person and this knowledge could be in such various fields as carving or tattooing, in knowledge of the traditions, in the power to cure illnesses by driving out the atua or ngarara that was causing them, or in any other imagineable field. A whakatauki refers to such a tohunga in this way: "Kaore e te rakau whakaaro, kei te tohunga te whakaaro", that is, "It is not up to the wood to think, it is up to the carver (tohunga)". If Eki laments the fact that she has had to take over what she considers a male role, it is because of Foley's European, Comtean view of women as gentle help-mates and

¹⁶⁷ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, I, 345-51.

¹⁶⁸ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 299.

¹⁶⁹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, I, 349.

¹⁷⁰ Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 100.

mothers, for Maori women often had an excellent knowledge of traditional lore and composed and recited poetry. Eki claims that a detailed knowledge of the heroic deeds of Maori ancestors makes women “lunairement aussi sèches que les hommes” (35), depriving them of their femininity. However, within Maori society there was a place for a woman like Eki:

Nul homme n'est plus savant qu'elle; et nulle femme plus sage.
Tous les chefs morts aiment Eki; et tous les chefs vivants la vénèrent. (20)

A small number of well-born women with exceptional qualities of mind and heart, including Hine-matiro of Ngati Porou, Tamairangi of Ngati Ira and Mahina-rangi of Ngati Kahungunu, are recorded as having achieved a similar status.¹⁷¹ Eki can even be seen as acting out the role played by Te Ruahine in South Island Maori myths. In these stories she is a wise old woman of high rank, living alone, who is encountered by a traveller. An expert in rituals and the embodiment of fertility, she hands on to the male visitor her knowledge and possessions, often including her young daughter as a wife.¹⁷² Eki accepts Édouard as her “fils étranger” (48) and provides him with a knowledge of Maori ways that place him on the way to a Positivist vocation of service to humanity.

Gender roles

In some ways, Maori men and women are less different from each other than their European equivalents and Eki, for example, wears her late husband's clothes and, in general, Maori men and women dress and adorn themselves in a similar way (48). Eki explains, however, that she has had to take over a number of masculine roles in Maori society because the men have become demoralised by the arrival of Europeans and are no longer the proud warriors of yore. Foley's novel covers several generations, of course, so we see the role of women in Maori society both before and after European contact. Taia, for example, seems to have the sole purpose in life of producing a child: “Que sert à Taia d'être belle? Elle n'enfante pas” (22). Because she cannot have a child by Iotété, Akaroa I tries to convince her that she should have a child by him. Although she answers him at first with the typical pride and independence of a rangatira, she eventually accepts him and becomes the mother of

¹⁷¹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, I, 353.

¹⁷² Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 271; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.209-10.

his son. Once she has given birth, however, she dies, as if her task were accomplished.

Women, along with old men and children, are left behind when warriors go off to war, and it is because only the weak are left there that Akaroa I is able to capture Téroupara's pa in his absence. After Tikao's defeat, his men are invited to join Akaroa I in his armed exploits and are assured that Mopou "étendra la protection puissante du grand Akaroa sur vos femmes, vos enfants et vos vieillards, trop craintifs ou trop faibles pour combattre" (30). Women are seen as physically weak as well as intellectually more fragile. Although there were exceptions when women took part, Maori men certainly had the main responsibility for fighting, as can be seen in an old Maori saying about the apportioning out of difficult tasks:

He puta taua ki te tane, he whanau tama ki te wahine. The battlefield with man, childbirth with woman.¹⁷³

A woman's role often involved a great deal of other hard work as well, however. Édouard describes the Maori walking around the Great Lake, their pace set by the women among them:

Elles sont chargées du bois, des vivres, et des ustensiles nécessaires au festival des funérailles.

Les hommes, libres de tous fardeaux, daignent, pour les soulager un peu, régler leur marche sur la leur. (55)

Early European observers often commented on what they saw as a disproportionate amount of work undertaken by women, notably, as Foley remarks, the carrying of heavy loads. Nicholas, for example, thought that Maori men "conceive they are only claiming the right they are entitled to as superior beings, in making them [women], as an inferior species, work instead of themselves".¹⁷⁴ A man's back was seen as tapu, preventing him from carrying anything, which left this task to women who, as a result, were often bent before reaching old age. Even so, when Antoine and Édouard see eels being cured, they remark on the way everyone takes an active part, men and women, children and the elderly, all preparing their own eels (52). Firth argues that, overall, the work was divided fairly evenly, with some tasks being traditionally shared between men and women, and others being confined to one sex, and he sees

¹⁷³ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 291.

¹⁷⁴ Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, II, 302.

the main principle behind the allotment of labour being that men had the more energetic, arduous and exciting occupations (fishing in the open sea, climbing trees for fruit, bird-spearing, digging fern-root) whereas women were given the monotonous tasks (weeding, cleaning fish, making twine, weaving and cooking).¹⁷⁵ Foley says something similar, but in more general terms, when he remarks that “les hommes ont beaucoup d'éclat, les femmes [sont] bien plus modestes” (48). The laws of tapu reinforced these distinctions and are perhaps what Eki is referring to when she speaks of “les secrets de l'industrie” (35) which were being forgotten by Maori people after they had been exposed to European ways.

When Eki says that she is skilled at weaving flax, this is a task that a Maori woman was expected to perform but, when she also says that she has special skills in carving wood and greenstone (20), she is talking about work that was clearly the traditional province of men:

women did not participate at all in carving, the building of houses, and the manufacture of canoes, and had to keep away when greenstone was being worked¹⁷⁶

Women could, in an emergency, take over a male role, including a leadership role in fighting, but carving was such a long-term task that it was not subject to sudden, desperate needs. Foley may have been ignorant of this or careless, but the more probable explanation is that he wished to portray the breakdown of traditional Maori ways after the arrival of European settlers. He felt able to do this because, as more or less everyone in the nineteenth century, both Maori and Pakeha, believed that Maori society was declining in numbers and coherence, Eki could be depicted as being forced, much to her own profound regret, to take over tasks formerly reserved for men.

Marriage, in *Eki*, takes place between Akaroa I and Taia, after Taia's first husband, Iotété fails to give her a child and fails to provide leadership to his tribe against the threat of Téroupara. Although Akaroa's challenge on both grounds occurs before Iotété's death, it is only after his death that Akaroa becomes the new ariki and the new husband. Marriages could end as a result of infidelity or a woman's sterility but, when a husband died, it seems to have been normal for the widow to spend quite

¹⁷⁵ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1972, pp.206-12.

¹⁷⁶ Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1972, p.208.

some time in mourning before remarrying.¹⁷⁷ However, this was not always the case, as is shown in the example of Te Rauparaha who not only took over the chieftainship of Ngati Raukawa from Hapekituarangi but “in accordance with custom, he married Hape’s widow, Te Akau”.¹⁷⁸

The marriage between Akaroa II and Eki is also between leading families within the same tribe, the most common form of traditional Maori marriages. Marrying immediate family was forbidden and marrying a member of another tribe was potentially a source of war although it could also be a way of strengthening a peace agreement.¹⁷⁹ In traditional Maori society, it was viewed as unacceptable for a married woman to have a sexual relationship outside the marriage but sexual relations between unmarried young people were common and sexual intercourse often preceded the announcement of a marriage even though this might, as in Eki’s case, ride roughshod over the family and tribe’s right to comment on the proposed marriage.¹⁸⁰ Marriages were sometimes arranged and sometimes the result of personal preference, although the approval of a woman’s immediate male relations was normally required. Eki is a “fille de chef!” (19), the daughter of Akaroa I’s leading warrior, Mopou (“le guerrier intrépide, le noble si fier de ses nombreux exploits”, 38), and the childhood friend of Akaroa II, making her a suitable partner for the latter, but he forces himself upon her (and ties her up, with both her parents) when she turns down his advances. However, her immediate feelings of horror and shame seem to change very quickly to pride at her new status of being his wife.

This example of what Biggs calls “making advances with vigour and even unscrupulousness” bears some resemblance to the historical story of Kokako and Whaeatapoko, in which the angry Whaeatapoko goes down to a spring to rebuke Kokako for his treatment of her slave but is seized by Kokako and has “his attentions forced upon her”, resulting in the birth of a son.¹⁸¹ In this case, marriage does not ensue, which may be the situation that Eki herself fears. William Yate provides a more precise parallel with Eki’s situation when he comments on the fact that, if a chief wanted to take a wife, he did so “without consulting her feelings or wishes on

¹⁷⁷ Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, 1960, p.77-9.

¹⁷⁸ Burns, *Te Rauparaha*, 1983, pp.34.

¹⁷⁹ Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, 1960, p.29.

¹⁸⁰ Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, 1960, p.32.

¹⁸¹ Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, 1960, p.30; Leslie, *Tainui*, 1949, p.89.

the subject", and with force "should the match be objected to by herself or her immediate friends".¹⁸² It is also possible that Foley's rather coy description of Eki's rape by and subsequent marriage to Akaroa II was inspired by such a situation as Earle observed, where the husband carries his "intended" off by force, "she resisting with all her strength". Earle sees this as an example of a "decided aversion to marriage" on the part of Maori women which he saw as perfectly understandable because of the severe restrictions it placed on their freedom.¹⁸³ Cruise refers to the abduction (which may or may not have been feigned) of women by chiefs in this way: "Instances have occurred where she has been carried off with brutal violence on his part and apparent resistance on hers, but an amicable adjustment soon followed".¹⁸⁴ The example of Amiria Stirling's arranged marriage as late as 1918 shows the continuation of a tradition in which the girl's strong resistance and her parents' total opposition were ignored and a Maori *taumau* marriage took the form of the terrified girl having sexual intercourse with the boy on the chief's orders. The European-style church wedding in a white dress and with bridesmaids followed some time later. Amiria's mother remained distraught, even on the wedding day, but Amiria, herself, seems to have accepted the decision of the chief and the elders moderately quickly, for at that time they had an authority which young people respected.¹⁸⁵

Unlike Taia who remarries promptly on the death of Iotété, Eki does not remarry after Akaroa II's death, presumably because, in her case, there is no suitor of the required status, for wives of chiefs of very high status would not lower themselves to marry someone of lesser standing. Indeed, women would sometimes commit suicide when their husband died and Eki certainly is impatient to meet up with her husband again in a life after death. It seems surprising that Foley nowhere mentions that it was the usual practice of great chiefs to have more than one wife, although the South Island, with its more hunter-gatherer economy in contrast with the more agricultural economy of the North Island, did not require the same sort of work-force and there may well have been less need for a chief to have a number of wives.

¹⁸² Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970, p.96.

¹⁸³ Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, 1966, p.180.

¹⁸⁴ Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, 2nd ed, 1824, p.278.

¹⁸⁵ Stirling, *Amiria*, 1976, pp.40-63, 148.

It may also be explained by the state of Maori society in the 1840s on Banks Peninsula where, as a result of recent wars, disease and missionary influence, few men had more than one wife still living. Shortland's 1843 census of the four Maori villages around Akaroa Harbour shows that, of the village chiefs, Heremaia Mautai, Hoani Tikao and Hoani Papita Akaroa had one wife each, and only Tuauau, the aging chief of Onuku had a second wife.¹⁸⁶ As we have seen, Comte thought that people should not remarry on their first spouse's death as he saw that as a sort of subjective polygamy and a return to a more primitive state, and so, in his attempt to show how Maori were progressing, Foley may have had this in the back of his mind and wanted to avoid depicting polygamous marriages.

Another curious feature of Foley's novel is that his main male characters all have the same name, Akaroa, as though it were some sort of patronym or family name. "Akaroa le magnanime" is the father of "Akaroa aux six doigts" who, in turn, is the father of "Akaroa aux yeux bleus". Eki, who marries into the family, also describes herself as an Akaroa, "la dernière Akaroa" (20). This was not a traditional Maori practice, although children were sometimes named after their grandparent and it was an essential part of an individual's identity to name his forbears through reciting his whakapapa. It was also by citing their common ancestor that people claimed membership of a particular group, whether it was a whanau, hapu or iwi. Among the Maori, the European convention of having a family name along with a baptismal name was just beginning, under missionary influence, when Foley was in New Zealand and had not become an established practice. The obvious precedent for Foley's use of the same name over several generations was the Pomare family dynasty in Tahiti where the wife of Pomare III, Queen Pomare, placed her land under the protection of the French in 1842 and continued as queen until her death in 1877. Like Eki, Queen Pomare outlived her husband and was reluctant to accept European intervention in her land.

The individual and the group

The words 'tribu' and 'tribal' do not occur in *Eki*, a novel in which individualism and entrepreneurial activity are emphasised. Tribal groupings are simply referred to by the name of their leading chief: Iotété, Akaroa, Térourapa, Tikao and Iouikao, for

¹⁸⁶ P Tremewan, *French Akaroa*, 1990, pp.315-7.

Foley is wanting to emphasise the bold initiatives of individual Maori. When some twenty Maori are all working hard at curing eels over a fire, Foley says that each individual is “*activé pour son compte*” (52). Maori society might have the “*règles inviolables*” (21) of tapu and see work as an “*œuvre sacrée*” (52, 53), thereby allowing Maori to plan their lives and, for example, store food ready for the winter, but life in Maori society was a constant clash of individual wills: “*Tous critiquaient ou se moquaient, mais personne n’aidait personne*” (52). Elsdon Best could go to the opposite extreme and say that a Maori “does not exist, as it were, as an individual, but only as a part of the group or clan”¹⁸⁷, but Best, like Foley, was also aware of the independent spirit and personal pride of individual Maori and of the democratic decision-making within each tribe which did not allow a chief to impose his own will without question.

War

The main preoccupation of chiefs in *Eki* is to gain glory through conquering or subjugating other tribes. Téroupara insists, under threat of war, that Iotété’s tribe should pay tribute to him, while Akaroa I, II and III are described by Eki as conquerors (20) and men with “*beaucoup d’éclat*” (48), that is, with considerable mana. When Iotété fails to stand up to Téroupara and when the ageing Akaroa I becomes fearful, their position as chiefs is no longer tenable because the ability to lead the tribe in war is a crucial requirement of any chief in a novel which includes on its title-page the name of Tu-Mata-Ouengha, “*père et dieu des cruels humains*”, who is often described, in European terms, as the Maori god of war. However, all this is in the past for, in the 1840s, Eki finds herself in a world where Maori men have lost the sense of pride which war had given them and the Maori that Antoine and Édouard come across are involved only in fishing, hunting or going to attend a funeral ceremony. At no point do the Maori represent a threat to the two Frenchmen.

Early European observers often described the endemic state of war among the New Zealand Maori. “The inhabitants of these islands are much inclined to warfare: they drink in the principle with the notions of infancy,” wrote Yate, who saw the lack of any sense of nationhood turning New Zealand into a constant contest for power among tribal chiefs for whom force was the sole method of imposing their authority

¹⁸⁷ Best, *The Maori as He Was*, 1974, p.94.

or protecting their property.¹⁸⁸ “The whole soul of a New Zealander seems absorbed in the thoughts of war; every action of his life is influenced by it,” according to Earle.¹⁸⁹ If the auguries were right for victory, said Polack, who emphasises the haphazardness and lack of order in the fighting, the men would argue about who they should then fight against.¹⁹⁰ Later, the ethnographer, Best, saw war as an everyday occupation for the Maori, “one of his common activities, more so than agriculture”, there being even a season for war after crops had been planted and the men were free to travel and fight.

Man slaying, says the Maori, is one of man’s most important activities, it is the *umanga kapukapu*, or *umanga nui* (the great game); better to die weapon in hand than by lingering sickness or old age.¹⁹¹

This is certainly the way Foley depicts Maori chiefs: war is their main concern, their lives are a series of battles against rival chiefs, and Akaroa II is constantly aggressive in his relations with others, as a child, a son, a lover and a warrior.

Unlike European battles, fighting between groups of Maori avoided direct confrontation on a battlefield, preferring surprise attacks, ambushes and sieges of fortified pa. This meant that military strategy was all important, and Polack went so far as to assert that “True legitimate valour has nothing to do with the composition of the warrior, but superior tactics in deceit and treachery”.¹⁹² The chiefs in *Eki* are very concerned with tactics, with Akaroa I defeating Téroupara through destroying his own villages and crops and slipping away to attack Téroupara’s pa in his absence. Similarly, before attacking Iouikao’s pa, Akaroa II rehearses possible scenarios with Mopou before coming to a decision to use fire as his principal weapon. *Eki* spends two chapters discussing his tactics and only two sentences recounting the battle itself.

Even so, courage is emphasised in *Eki* as well as strategy, with the chief inspiring his men with confidence:

Jamais chef plus audacieux n’a conduit guerriers plus bouillants d’ardeur.

¹⁸⁸ Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970, p.114.

¹⁸⁹ Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, 1966, p.85.

¹⁹⁰ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, II, 4.

¹⁹¹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 224-6.

¹⁹² Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, II, 1-2.

Chants de guerre, cris, gestes, menaces, provocations de toute nature surexcitent chaque matelot.
Tous ont à tâche de multiplier leur valeur et grandir leurs forces à la hauteur des exploits qu'ils imaginent! (24-5)

War-songs and war-dances help to raise individual morale but a weak chief who does not have the respect of his men cannot win:

Malheur au chef que son courage et la terreur que, personnellement, il inspire ne suffisent point à protéger! Malheur à celui qui ne sait que tenir ses guerriers au ventre; c'est être maître de leur valeur.
Pour ignorer ces vérités, Iouikao, tu périras! (41)

It is because the ageing Akaroa I loses the ability to inspire his men that it is time for him to hand over the chieftainship to his son for it is up to "la jeunesse, forte et courageuse, à protéger la vieillesse, débile et timide" (34).

Maori might go to battle for many reasons, but the concept of *utu* underlies most of them. *Utu* means never allowing oneself to be outdone, whether it is in positive terms in gift exchanges or in negative terms in exacting vengeance for an affront, real, perceived or invented. There are a number of references in *Eki* to revenge—such as "Qu'il meure! Et ses fidèles immédiatement le vengent" (28; see also 32, 33, 51, 54)—but they are incidental to the main plot and not explicitly the motives behind the battles undertaken by the main characters, which seem to be, quite simply, the result of their aggressive temperaments and their desire for glory. *Utu* in *Eki* is not the prime motive for war that a knowledge of Maori culture would lead one to expect.

Even if he only uses the Maori names for two of them, Foley refers to a number of Maori weapons in *Eki*: the *toko-toko* which he translates as a 'javelot', the *patou-patou* or 'casse-tête' (a 'short club' in English), the 'long casse-tête', the 'fouenne' and the 'lance énorme'.

Foley distinguishes between the ways the different weapons were used:

Enfants du feu, préparez vos toko-tokos, si rapides!
Enfants du feu, préparez vos casse-tête, aussi légers qu'agiles!
Enfants du feu, préparez vos patou-patous sanguinaires!

Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens soient percés par vos traits mortels!
Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens périssent assommés par vos coups!

Qu'Iouikao et tous les siens aient le crâne en deux par vos armes! (43)

With the combination of his habit of arranging matters in relation to the number three and the obvious care he took in juxtaposing and contrasting such matters it is clear that the lines of the second verse are to be related to those of the first verse in the same order. Foley, then, envisages Iouikao's people being speared by the mortal throwing of the swift tokotoko, felled by the blows of the light but agile clubs and having their skulls cleft in two by the cutting edge of the bloody patu. The curious contrast between a casse-tête and a patou-patou (which he has translated elsewhere in the text as casse-tête) is explained by another passage, where he more clearly contrasts the two sorts of clubs, the long one and the short patou-patou, pointing out the limitations of the latter in a siege where the fighting is not at close quarters:

- Mais avec leurs toco-tocos?
- Ils ne perceront que nos fascines.
- Mais avec leurs longs casse-tête?
- Ils ne blesseront encore qu'elles.
- Mais avec leurs patou-patous?
- Comment veux-tu qu'ils nous atteignent? (46)

A casse-tête can be long or short with the long one being used for clubbing and the short one for thrusting. The best-known Maori long club is the taiaha or hani, but others include the pouwhenua and the tewhatewha. They were made of wood, averaged about one and a half metres in length and, held in both hands, were used for striking. Foley describes people being “assommés” by the blows of a long club, which is what normally happened, but the handle-end narrowed down to a blunt point so that the weapon could, theoretically, also be used for stabbing like a spear, although this seems to have been very unusual and used as a threat rather than actually executed.¹⁹³ It is clearly the long club that Foley is referring to when he uses the simile of a cormorant diving in to catch a fish, saying: “Tous les casse-tête sont comme lui. Tant qu'ils tombent, leurs coups sont terribles. [...] Dès qu'ils montent ils perdent leur force” (46).

The short club or patu (Foley's patou-patou) was usually about forty centimetres long and could be made of greenstone like Akaroa I's favourite weapon, “un casse-tête en jade” (24), but it could also be made of ordinary stone, bone or wood. It

¹⁹³ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1950, pp.274-7; Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 245-54.

would not be a greenstone patu that Eki was talking about when comparing a weak chief to a patu that shatters in a warrior's hand (29) because greenstone was highly-prized for its strength, which allowed the greenstone patu to be quite thin. Its blade had sharp edges and it was symmetrical in shape, like—minus the tail and fins—the body of a stylised fish.

A favoured blow was to drive the thin end of the blade into the thin part of the skull at the side of the head by means of the *tipi* or endwise thrust. It is said that experts, by a turn of the wrist, would then wrench the skull open.

This sort of forward thrusting action was normal and it is what Foley is describing when he says that the patu split the skull open, but the short club could also be used for striking or clubbing, which is the actual meaning of the word 'patu'.¹⁹⁴

Foley describes Akaroa I's favourite greenstone club as having "deux langues fort inégales, sorties de la même bouche en sens contraire" (24), which, while it would seem to be a very precise memory, does not correspond to the shape of the usual Maori patu. It sounds more like a Fijian spurred club or 'massue à éperon' which has an asymmetrical, sharp, tongue-like blade and spur. Some New Zealand patu known as kotiate did have at the butt of the handle a human head motif with a protruding tongue but they were typically made of bone and were generally symmetrical and shaped rather like a violin. A related whale-bone patu known as a wahaika could conceivably be seen as having the shape that Foley describes, but nothing that matches exactly has been located in the literature.¹⁹⁵

As well as long and short clubs, the Maori had long and short spears which were mainly used for thrusting rather than throwing and were made from hardwood such as kahikatoa or maire. They were light and slim and held in the middle when being used in fighting so that they were balanced and more difficult to parry.¹⁹⁶ Foley seems to distinguish three types of spear: the 'fouenne', the 'lance énorme' and the tokotoko which he sees as a throwing spear, a "javelot". His use of the word 'fouenne' to translate 'spear' in his translation of George Grey¹⁹⁷ is rather curious for it is a word normally used, with the spelling 'foène', for a fishing implement, a

¹⁹⁴ Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1950, pp.277-80; Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 254-70.

¹⁹⁵ For kotiate and wahaika, see Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 265-7.

¹⁹⁶ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 240-5; Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*, 1950, pp.271-4.

¹⁹⁷ Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 270.

harpoon or the sort of pronged wooden spear used by the Maori to catch eels. In his three references to the ‘fouenne’, Foley has it only as heavy and cruel, and as being used to pierce (in the sense of letting air into) the bundles of brushwood which were to set fire to Iwikau’s pa. This does not correspond to the light, swift Maori spear and so Foley must have something else in mind, perhaps even the *matarau* which were the spears with multiple tines that were used when catching eels in Wairewa and Waihora and which would have been suited to the task of poking a brushwood fire.¹⁹⁸

There were many Maori words for different sorts of spear, but the ordinary short spear was the *tao* or *tokotoko*, which was two to three metres in length, very slim and extremely light, and, although it was normally used as a thrusting weapon, it was sometimes used as a sort of long club and, grasped in the middle, it could also be used as a walking stick or ceremonial stick. Foley describes the *tokotoko* as “rapide” (43), but by calling it a “javelot” (32) and referring to its “traits mortels” (43) clearly implies that he thought it was thrown. The Maori did have throwing spears and ‘*pere tokotoko*’ was one of the terms used to describe them, although Best, in the belief that spears were mainly used for thrusting and were rarely thrown, questions a number of early testimonies (including Yate and Nicholas) and concludes that spears were sometimes thrown but that it “was not a common practice”.¹⁹⁹ Foley’s *Eki* can be added to the number of early accounts that suggest that throwing, as well as thrusting, did occur. When asked how they will cope with the enemy’s *tokotoko* when they besiege Iouikao’s pa, Akaroa replies : “Ils ne perceront que nos fascines” (46). Throwing spears are seen as less useful in such a situation than the long thrusting spears.

Foley’s ‘*lance énorme*’ refers to a weapon that is very well documented, despite its seemingly incredible size, which must have limited the circumstances in which it could have been used. The long spear, the *huata*, was made from a hardwood and could be over seven metres in length, but it was slim and light, being only about four centimetres thick at the mid-point where it was held. It was used almost solely to attack and defend a pa, “being thrust through the apertures of the stockade, or

¹⁹⁸ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 440.

¹⁹⁹ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 87, 272-9.

downward from fighting stages and high ramparts”.²⁰⁰ Foley has them being used by the second rank of Akaroa II’s men as they attack Iouikao’s pa, with the first rank carrying bundles of faggots that will be set alight but which, in the meantime, act as a shield: “Nos fascines recevront les coups: avec nos lances, nous les rendrons” (46). It is anticipated, therefore, that the people wielding the long spears will do so over the heads of the men in front of them and through the gaps in Iouikao’s stockade.

Even if, with his French readership in mind, Foley does not always give the Maori name for the weapons he describes, he shows in general an excellent appreciation of what they were like and how they were used. The other weapon that Akaroa II uses when attacking Iouikao’s pa is fire which, again, was a common device when attacking a fortified pa. A typical example occurred during Te Rauparaha’s siege of the Kaiapoi pa in 1832 when, after many weeks of frustration, the attackers decided that they would have to use fire. Manuka bushes were collected, tied in bundles and then, after they had dried out, they were thrown up against the wooden walls of the pa. Despite the defenders’ efforts to get rid of it under cover of darkness, the brushwood eventually started to pile up and to represent a considerable threat, leading to some defenders slipping out of the pa to escape what was seen as an inevitable defeat once the palisade was destroyed. Other defenders chose a time when the wind was blowing away from the pa to light the brushwood themselves so as to get rid of the threat, but the wind swung round, the palisade was burnt down and the attackers took the pa.²⁰¹ It was with some sort of knowledge of recent Maori history that Foley depicts Akaroa II’s siege of Iouikao’s pa in his novel.

Iouikao’s pa is described in minute detail by an author who had been trained in military engineering at the École Polytechnique. The pa is situated on a hill, with large defensive works on the two sides where an attack could be expected while the two other flanks are obstructed by “un grand abattis d’arbres”, an impenetrable mass of trunks, branches, bushes and creepers. This is what Aileen Fox calls a class II pa, the most common type in the North Island, defended by transverse ditches and banks, as opposed to the class III pa which has lateral as well as transverse ditches and banks or was even completely enclosed by a ring-ditch.²⁰² The central part of

²⁰⁰ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 240, 245.

²⁰¹ Stack, *The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, 1906, pp.226-8.

²⁰² Fox, *Prehistoric Maori Fortifications in the North Island of New Zealand*, 1976, p.16.

Iouikao's pa, with its fifty-two huts and Iouikao's own lair, is on five terraces, with a palisade and ditch separating Iouikao's top terrace from the others and some of the other groups of huts having their own palisades (41). Foley gives the exact number of huts on each terrace and the way they are grouped on that level.

The defences consist of palisades and the three types of earthworks that Best sees as typical of the Maori pa: ramparts or parapets, fosses or trenches, and escarpments or scarped faces. Iwikau's donjon or keep, which Foley chooses, for the purpose of this story, to see as a defence against his own people, itself has a palisade made of enormous stakes protecting it with an extremely deep fosse behind that containing many traverses. Apart from terraces, quarters and individual huts having their own banquettes and sometimes even their own palisades, the defences of the pa, itself, were considerable as well. The wide *chemin de ronde* or pathway on top of the rampart is surrounded by a parapet which, in turn, is surrounded by a palisade of long, sharpened stakes pointing in all directions. Next comes a fosse, intersected by many traverses, which has its escarp surmounted by a second palisade tied together both at the top and in the middle and, below it, a banquette with its own palisade of stakes on the outside which have loopholes at the bottom. Beneath these loopholes there is another fosse with a talus and the whole is surrounded by a glacis (41-2).

The detail is such that it suggests that Foley had a particular pa in mind. The stakes in the inner palisade, for example, are pointing in all directions, while the stakes in the second palisade are tied together at the top and in the middle. Saying that the fourth terrace of the pa had nine huts, four on one side and five on the other, is, again, the sort of detail that Foley is likely to have obtained from viewing, or reading about, an actual pa. Even though Akaroa II's siege of Iouikao's pa is set in pre-European times, however, and is carried out with traditional Maori weapons, the description reveals that Foley had in mind the sort of pa that was built after contact with Europeans and when Maori were using muskets. "Sabords" or loopholes, for example, were holes in a parapet through which muskets could be fired, and a banquette, a raised walkway behind a wall allowing soldiers to fire from a position of shelter, was not a feature of a traditional pa because Maori did not hide themselves behind earthworks when there were no bullets flying about but stood on them to repel attackers. (When Foley describes all the individual dwellings inside the pa as having their own banquette, with only some having a palisade, it seems that he is

here referring, correctly, to a pre-European style.) In the Onawe musket pa, for instance, “All round the inside of the fence was a covered way for the protection of the defenders”.²⁰³ The traverse had also evolved, for the same reason as European models, to protect people from gunfire when moving about in trenches²⁰⁴ and a glacis, a gentle open slope that attackers had to cross and which could easily be raked by gunfire, would have been of little use to defenders with spears and clubs. It is true that the traditional pa had fighting platforms from which darts could be thrown and it also had outer stockades where the palisading did not reach the ground (elevated outer screens) so that long spears could be poked through, but Foley’s vocabulary (sabords, banquette, traverses, glacis) suggests the features of a musket pa that he saw in the 1840s, even though it is impossible now to determine which pa that might be.

The *Rhin* visited the Bay of Islands at the time of Hone Heke’s war of protest and a considerable amount of information circulated within the European settler community about these events. Foley’s commander, Captain Bérard, described the Ruapekapeka musket pa in a report sent back to the French Minister of the Navy and enclosed a plan of the pa:

Ce pah était très-fort, deux rangs de palissades en bois dur et garnis de torres formaient l’enceinte extérieure; puis un fossé intérieur, avec des traverses pour éviter l’enfilade, permettait aux naturels de tirer à l’abri, à travers les meurtrières de l’enceinte qui étaient au raz de terre. Chaque maison avait une fortification particulière; dans plusieurs d’entr’elles étaient des trous souterrains à l’épreuve de la bombe.²⁰⁵

Just as Bérard speaks of a “fortification particulière” around each house, Foley says that in Iouikao’s village not even the most simple hut is without at least a bank or, “quelquefois même sa palissade” (41), but Iouikao’s pa has more palisades, earth walls and ditches, and Foley avoids any reference to musket fire.

The pa that Foley describes is typical of the traditional Maori hill pa in almost every respect, including the terraces of habitations and storehouses (“case et grenier”, 41) with the chief’s own headquarters (‘tihi’ in Maori) in the middle and with low fences

²⁰³ Stack, “Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers”, in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, p.43.

²⁰⁴ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, pp.49, 374.

²⁰⁵ Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846 (AN: Marine BB₄ 1011).

marking off the huts belonging to the different groups within the tribe, the quantity and distribution of the earthworks which correspond to the typical “three or four lines of fosse, parapet and stockade on one or more faces”, the stockades on the inner edges of trenches, the outer two stockades quite close together, the vertical posts held together by railings and lashings at two or three levels, the particularly stout posts of the inner stockade planted deep in the ground (the third stockade from the outside was generally the main one), and the lesser fortifications on those sides that were protected by the nature of the terrain.²⁰⁶ According to some South Island Maori informants, their pa had only two palisades, while the North Island pa often had three²⁰⁷, which, if true, would make the model for the pa in *Eki* a North Island one, perhaps one Foley had seen in the Bay of Islands area which he visited briefly on four separate occasions.

Foley’s description of the inner palisade as being made up of pointed stakes “dirigés dans tous les sens” (41) is, however, curious, although he may simply mean, as many early Europeans observers remarked, that palisades were often deliberately not vertical, the posts were of uneven height and followed the irregularities of the terrain, which combined to give Europeans the impression that no attention was paid to orderliness.²⁰⁸ More curiously, these posts are usually surmounted by carvings of human figures or rounded knobs that represent human figures²⁰⁹, and it is only the lesser stakes between the huge posts that have pointed ends. What Foley is describing may, of course, be something quite different from the usual Maori palisade: some sort of *chevaux de frise* which, in Europe, would be large six-sided joists, traversed with long iron-pointed spikes crossing one another, used to counter cavalry charges. Interestingly, in Johnstone’s *Maoria* there is a pa which, at the inner edge of a ditch, has “a *chevaux de frise* of split trunks”, which Best dismisses as a misuse of the term²¹⁰, but Foley’s description could indicate that Johnstone was right and that, perhaps as a result of European models, the *chevaux de frise* was used by the Maori in the nineteenth century.

²⁰⁶ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, pp.23, 47, 50, 56, 127.

²⁰⁷ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, pp.45, 230.

²⁰⁸ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, pp.42-3, 63.

²⁰⁹ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, pp.62-3.

²¹⁰ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p.83.

The other feature of the Iouikao pa that may be questioned is the use of felled trees to create “un rempart impénétrable” on the two sides that have no earthworks for, generally, there were earthworks on any side that was not protected by cliffs. There are descriptions of eighteenth-century double palisades that had the space between them filled with bundles of manuka, creating a two-metre high wall that was difficult to break through²¹¹, so Foley could, perhaps, be describing a nineteenth-century development of this otherwise undocumented feature or simply a strategy that was invented on the spot to suit a particular terrain. A more likely explanation, however, is that Foley has fallen back on his École Polytechnique studies and is simply describing the European abattis which had been used by the ancient Greeks and Romans and had recently been extensively employed by the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Being a system that does not require an advanced technology, it could be attributed to the Maori without raising Parisian eyebrows. Secret paths through this maze of branches that would allow the defenders to slip in and out of the pa are, equally, perfectly conceivable:

In rare instances a tunnel has been excavated so as to lead from the interior of a fort under all defences and outwards to a forest gulch or other cover, and used by scouts during a siege, or as a means of escape.²¹²

Less convincing are the hidden traps, with sharp stakes, set along these paths to catch the unwary attacker, although Foley may have seen, and misinterpreted the function of, the underground bomb shelters of the musket pa or the storage pits (rua kopiha and rua poka) with very narrow entrances that were a feature of many traditional pa and which were sometimes found, for example, at the bottom of a defensive trench.²¹³ Some of these pits had trees growing in them that could perhaps have provided Foley with his idea of a stake²¹⁴, but one cannot dismiss Foley’s description out of hand since his departures from what is accepted as standard Maori practice are often confirmed or made credible by other contemporary observations. In d’Urville’s novel about the New Zealand Maori, for example, there are several examples of traps used by the wise Moudi: “at the beginning of the pathway which led up the hill, he had a huge, deep trap dug and covered deceptively with turf, in order to halt the enemy if need be”, and he also has some other “well-trodden, well-beaten but false

²¹¹ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p.42.

²¹² Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p.119.

²¹³ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p.185.

²¹⁴ Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, pp.25-6, 264, 269.

tracks [...] bristling with traps”.²¹⁵ However, since Moudi has been educated in European ways, these traps may be meant as examples of superior European technology rather than an observation of Maori practice.

The general lines of the story of *Eki* follow some of the patterns of Banks Peninsula history. If Foley had spoken in the 1840s with the inhabitants of the villages of Onuku, Wainui and Opukutahi around the shores of Akaroa Harbour, people like Hoani Papita Akaroa, Tamakeke or Tuauau of the Ngai Taurewa, Ngati Irakehu or Ngati Ruahikihiki hapu, he would have found that they saw themselves as true Banks Peninsula people while Iwikau at Port Levy and Tikao at Ohae were Kaiapoi people (Ngai Tuahuriri) who had sought refuge and commercial opportunities on Banks Peninsula after the fall of the Kaiapoi pa and, for many of them, after several years as captives of Te Rauparaha’s men (Ngati Toa) from Kapiti in the North Island. These are the factions that appear in *Eki*: the tribe under the leadership of Akaroa is faced with the tribes of Téroupara (who lives on an island in Cook Strait), and Tikao and Iouikao (who both live on Banks Peninsula). *Eki* indicates that “le nouveau chef” (26) of Akaroa Harbour, at the time of her narration and after the death of her husband and her son is another man named Tikao, a “voleur” who has usurped power.

By the early 1840s, missionaries like Hadfield had moved into Te Rauparaha’s territory and the New Zealand Company had started systematic settlement of Wellington and Nelson, placing considerable pressure on Te Rauparaha to change to more peaceful ways, but the Ngai Tahu of Banks Peninsula were still worried that he would return and wreak more havoc on the area which had been the scene of major victories for him some ten years earlier. This is the dilemma faced by Iotété in *Eki* when Téroupara demands that he pay tribute. Just as Ngai Tahu chiefs like Tuhawaiki and Taiaroa led counter-attacks against Te Rauparaha in Marlborough and threatened to attack his home base on Kapiti Island, Akaroa I refuses to accept vassal status and takes the war to Téroupara. However, while Akaroa I is successful

²¹⁵ Dumont d’Urville, *The New Zealanders*, 1992, pp.49, 55.

in taking T  roupara's pa, the historical Ngai Tahu had only isolated successes against Ngati Toa without changing the balance of power.²¹⁶

In *Eki*, Akaroa I belongs to Iot  t  's tribe which lives in the North Island not far from East Cape and near a volcano. It is after travelling down to Banks Peninsula and conquering Tikao that he gives his name to the bay that is now called Akaroa Harbour and which eventually becomes his new home. Akaroa I and his immediate descendants, Akaroa II and Akaroa III, consolidate their hold on Banks Peninsula and carry on the conquests in other parts of the South Island. This series of conquests represents the shape of historical events for the different hapu living on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s. They all belonged to the Ngai Tahu tribe and had come down from the North Island, via the Cook Strait area, from near the East Cape, being closely connected to the Ngati Porou tribe of that area. Different groups of people who could trace their whakapapa back to Tahu Potiki moved south at some time in the eighteenth century and conquered, or intermarried with, the Ngati Mamoe who had migrated from the North Island a few generations earlier. This was, then, relatively recent history in the 1840s although it went back more than the one generation which is seen in *Eki*. Anderson estimates that Ngai Tuhaitara moved to Banks Peninsula in the 1730s, but acknowledges that one cannot date these events very precisely. Just as, at the beginning of *Eki*, the generations are conflated in Antoine's story of his family arriving from Ireland and settling in France, the military conquests of Eki's story reduce to three generations a general movement that did occur: the migration of Ngai Tahu from the East Coast via Cook Strait to Banks Peninsula, the defeat of the local people and the arrival of European settlers.

The arrival of Europeans brought many things which changed traditional Maori life, including muskets and Christianity. In *Eki*, Foley   draws attention to the fatal influence on Akaroa III of "le mal des   trangers, les blanquettes [...] et l'eau de feu" (20), saying that the alcoholic drinks which they acquire from the foreigners "les empoisonnent" and the blankets "les pourrissent de vermine" (35). The influence of the "Picopos" (35)—the missionaries—has led them to abandon their old beliefs, oral traditions and activities, and their total dependence on meagre and unequal trade with the European settlers has left them in a sort of cultural vacuum, "l'  cil somnolent, la

²¹⁶ Stack, "Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers", in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940*, 1940, pp.3-52.

figure hébétée, sans veiller ni dormir” (35), deprived of any meaning in their lives. Individualism and independence have been replaced by passivity and dependence, the women have become childless and the men have lost all their mental and physical energy. The only way out of this situation, Eki believes, is to take up arms against the colonists and get rid of them so that the Maori can return to their proud, entrepreneurial ways, to their “chants précieux qui enseignent les ruses de la guerre, les secrets de l’industrie et les tabous de la religion” (35).

One of the things that contemporary observers and modern historians agree on, however, is that, after initially making inter-tribal warfare worse by bringing the musket to New Zealand, Europeans, through Christianity and trade, largely brought an end to the endemic nature of war among the Maori. By 1840, for example, Polack is able to write that

in those parts where Europeans have been located for many years, a better order of things has been manifested, and is usurping the old and blood-shedding régime²¹⁷

While acknowledging that war has come to an end, Foley sees only the negative side of the peace: the disempowerment of the Maori male. Because the New Zealand Wars had broken out in the 1860s, he is able to prophesy an armed uprising against the colonists which will, he thinks, give the Maori male the drive that is necessary for the progress of their society towards a peace that the Maori themselves will impose.

Religion

A tiki figures on the title-page of *Eki*, where it is named as “Tou-Mata-Ouengha, père et dieu des cruels humains”, an identification which is made explicit later in the text, where Foley points out that it is “un homme nu qui tire la langue” who is this ancestor/god (18). The sculptures on a war canoe also represent “la figure du dieu terrible de la guerre”, with his provocative protruding tongue, or his “image tutélaire” (24). After his victory against Tikao, Akaroa I thanks the terrible god of war for making him a successful and popular leader, promising him that he will undertake many more wars in the future (29).

²¹⁷ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, II, 2.

In Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, Tu is the son of the first parents, Rangi and Papa, and he alone of all his brothers has the courage to fight back when the wind attacks the earth. He, a man, turns on his brothers, who represent other living creatures such as birds and fish, when they do not come to his assistance and he kills them, setting a pattern of warfare for future generations. Tu means 'upright, standing up', with the implication that he is a man. One of his extended names is Tu-mata-uenga, literally Red-Eyed Tu or Red-Faced Tu (flushed with anger), which is translated by Grey as 'fierce' and by Foley as 'cruel', and Foley's description of Tou-Mata-Ouengha is simply a translation of Grey's "god and father of fierce human beings".²¹⁸ Young boys were dedicated to Tu and a karakia spoken by the tohunga included the following lines:

The boy will be angry;
The boy will flame;
The boy will be brave; [...]
Dedicate him to fight for Tu.²¹⁹

Foley, through reading Grey, is fully aware of Tu-Mata-Ouengha's role as the ancestor of man, the instigator of war and the model warrior, while calling him the 'god' of war in *Eki* is to see him as the equivalent of Mars in European tradition.

Many early European visitors to New Zealand, including Roux and Savage but not Yate, mistakenly thought that the tiki and other carved human figures represented gods. "Le simulacre que plusieurs d'Entr'eux portent au col, est certainement une idolle," wrote Pottier de l'Horme in 1769.²²⁰ The Maori in some parts of New Zealand did have small wooden images (taumata atua) in their shrines into which an atua could be summoned by the tohunga.²²¹ Tiki, according to tradition, was the first man or the creator of the first man, the initiator of sexuality and, despite being sometimes seen as the son of Tu, he was an opponent of war.²²² However, Foley's identification of Tu and the tiki is not an isolated one, since Herries Beattie, for example, obtained a similar interpretation from Canterbury Maori of another generation:

²¹⁸ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, p.3; Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 270.

²¹⁹ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.77.

²²⁰ Ollivier and Hingley (trans), *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste*, 1982, p.135. See Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 43-4.

²²¹ Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, p.13.

²²² Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, p.213.

The collector was told a fine tiki was found at Taumutu some years ago. His informant thought that the tiki was made in likeness of some god—perhaps the god of war.²²³

A human figure with a protruding tongue is, as Foley indicates, commonly found on the prow of the Maori war canoe, where it featured on the tauihu, the elaborately carved figurehead, and sometimes at the prow of the dugout hull itself but, while there is an obvious resemblance, it does not seem to have been seen as a representation of Tu.²²⁴

Foley is aware of the problem of expressing the concept of atua in European terms, translating it as “esprit, génie, dieu” (32) and combining the notions of father (in the sense of ancestor) and god when referring to Tou-Mata-Ouengha and Maui. A modern scholar translates atua as ‘unseen powers’, supernatural beings as opposed to tangata, who are people.²²⁵ Dead ancestors, tupuna, even back as far as the primal ancestors Rangi and Papa, were seen by pre-contact Maori as tangata so that Foley is making too many concessions to European categories in calling Tou-Mata-Ouengha and Maui ‘Atoua’. There is also a reluctance among modern scholars to see atua as gods, for they were not worshipped and praised, although they did need to be appeased, by sacrifice, for example. It must be conceded, all the same, that after the missionaries used the word ‘atua’ to describe the Christian God, the Maori themselves changed their view of their tupuna and atua in line with European concepts and, as early as the 1840s, were talking of Maori gods that were competing for mana with the Christian God.

Foley had translated part of Grey’s story of Maui and intended to publish the story as a whole and, despite the emphasis on war, it is Maui, rather than Tou-Mata-Ouengha, who plays a constant and crucial role in Eki’s story. Foley, however, calls him “le grand Maoui” as if he were some sort of supreme god, not an all-loving, providential god, but a powerful, jealous, tribal god who can inspire both good and evil: “Maoui, qui tourne ton esprit comme il lui plaît et souffle à ta langue des paroles, tantôt bonnes tantôt mauvaises” (22). It was not at all unusual in the early nineteenth century for Europeans to see Maui as the supreme god of the Maori. William Yate’s *An Account of New Zealand*, for example, while both denying and affirming that the

²²³ Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.244.

²²⁴ Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.142-50.

²²⁵ Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.31-2.

Maori had entities that could be called gods in anything like the European sense, encourages the reader to see Maui as a very inadequate equivalent of the Christian God and Whiro the quite close equivalent of Satan.²²⁶ Polack too saw Maui as the Maori equivalent of Jupiter, while bringing in other roles for him as well:

Mawé, the king of the starry world [...] The adventures of Mawé and his ambitious family on earth, bear a great resemblance to the adventures of Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Proserpine, Mars and Pallas, Pluto and Eolus [...] Mawé is the Jupiter tonans, the Hercules and Vulcan of [...] the New Zealanders²²⁷

Maui's apparent amorality in *Eki* is the result of his being the creation of a warrior culture that has made him the incarnation of all that a great chief should be, "puissant autant que brave" (51), strong, proud and ready with "son formidable cri de guerre" and "son bras vigoureux" (30) to attack any challenger:

Maoui est jaloux de sa gloire.
Maoui ne veut aucun rival. (31)

His fight with the giant to defend his land and his family has set a pattern for human life and for the whole universe:

Maoui et le géant, la Nouvelle-Zélande et la lune (îles sur mer et dans les cieux) sont choses qui se tiennent et disent: bataille continuelle. Ainsi pensent les Mahouris. (51)

Maui is an ancestor, the "père de tous les Mahouris" or "père commun des Mahouris" (31, 51), for it was Maui who fished up New Zealand from the bottom of the sea (31, 51) and who created the hills and harbours of Banks Peninsula where he once lived with his wife and numerous children (51), an ancestor accomplishing wondrous deeds that are recorded in Maori lore:

Les Atouas et les héros mahouris, Maoui plus que tous les autres, ont mis leur courage indomptable et leur force prodigieuse dans nos poèmes sacrés. (35)

He is not only the archetypal warrior chief, but is also seen as the man who taught people to record their great deeds (28), the man who brought them fire (30) and the supreme law-giver who created the rules of tapu, "ses tabous protecteurs" (22):

²²⁶ Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970: 141-6, where Maui is spelt Mawe, and Whiro is written as Wiro.

²²⁷ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 12-5.

Ce qu'a fait Maoui est bien fait. Les préceptes qu'il nous donna, nous devons, tous tant que nous sommes, les suivre et non les expliquer. (47)

This is not a contestatory, scientific view of the world, but an unquestioning religious attitude, according to which Maui's precepts are "sa sainte loi" (47), so that it is no surprise that, with the arrival of European missionaries, Maori people "méprisent les lois de Maoui" (35), which Eki sees as the abandonment of Maori culture as a whole.

There is no doubt that, in traditional Maori lore, Maui brought fire to mankind for it was this trickster who obtained fire from his great ancestress, Mahuika, and brought it down into this world.²²⁸ However, some of the other attributes ascribed to Maui rightly belong to other figures and have been grouped together here to simplify a complex situation for the convenience of Foley's story-telling, although it has already been noted that Polack created a precedent in ascribing to him a similar sort of amalgam of roles. The notion that Maui set up a pattern of "bataille continue" in the world comes, for example, straight from Grey's account of Tu in which, according to Foley's own translation, Tu's battle with his brothers meant that "maintenant les hommes sont acharnés à combattre les hommes".²²⁹ Despite Polack's comparison with Mars, Maui was not a warrior figure at all for, although he was cheeky and courageous, he was not "puissant" but a younger brother who was constantly on the edge of disaster. It is strange that, in a story which includes Tou-Mata-Ouengha, Foley should give many of his functions to Maui. Moreover, making Maui the supreme law-giver and the instigator of tapu is to betray the very essence of his character as the trickster who recklessly breaks all the rules, usually successfully, although it leads in the end to his death. One might perhaps say that Maui tested the boundaries of tapu and established how far one can go, but this is not what Foley is saying and, even though there were of course people who were particularly knowledgeable in traditional lore, Foley's whole idea of codifying "préceptes" into a "sainte loi" is a European one.

Maui the hero has died (51) and yet, says Eki, he lives on in the sky, where he retains his character of old, powerful and accepting no rival. Because he is still jealous, people must obey his laws and not challenge his authority, they must remain "fidèle à Maoui" (32) if they are not to face his chiefly wrath. The inexplicable and the

²²⁸ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.34-8.

²²⁹ Foley, *Quatres années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 282.

unexpected are signs that Maui is intervening. When Akaroa II is born, Maui fears that he has a rival who will challenge him and he sends storms, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that devastate the whole area where the Akaroa family are living (31-2). This idea of signs and wonders is very much a part of Maori thinking in which thunder and lightning were widely thought of as omens. At a ceremony for a child of high rank, the tohunga could strike stones together and throw them into the air; if there was thunder, this gave mana to the occasion, and the direction from which it came indicated whether the child's future was destined to be good or bad.²³⁰ However, it was above all at a great chief's death, rather than at a birth, that lightning flashed over the tribal mountain. Otherwise, earthquakes and landslips are seen as the result of breaches of tapu or of a tohunga expressing his wrath.²³¹ The eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 was, for example, attributed to the curse of the tohunga, Tuhoto, who caused his ancestor Tamaohoi to punish and destroy the people of Wairoa, in a scene of total devastation that was very like the one described in *Eki*, with over a hundred people being killed by the falling red-hot rock and ash, "the rain of the gods".²³²

People in *Eki* thank Maui (22), ask him to grant them victory (38) or to provide them with the protection of his tapu laws when, in actual fact, Maori "gods" were rarely addressed like this²³³, but rather a ritual took the form of a person reenacting what an ancestor did or said in the hope of reproducing his success.

the rites of the Maori [...] were based not on worship and prayer, or direct entreaty, but on symbolism, on analogies, and sympathetic magic. The methods of influencing supernormal powers were indirect, and the medium employed might be a ceremonial action, a verbal formula, or a material medium.²³⁴

The ritual that Foley refers to most frequently is the offering of a human sacrifice to "apaiser le grand Maoui" (43). In this "festin de Maoui" (38), people are cooked for Maui (43, 46), chiefs are called on to sacrifice "beaucoup d'esclaves" (32, 40), Akaroa II makes a solemn vow to sacrifice Iouikao and all his people to Maui (38)

²³⁰ Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, p.94.

²³¹ See, for example, Best, "Omens and Superstitious Beliefs of the Maori", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 7 (1898) 123-4.

²³² Cowan, *Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori*, 1925, pp.145-52.

²³³ There is a karakia taua addressed directly to Tu in Best, "Ritual Formulae Pertaining to War and Peace-making", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 35 (1926) 207.

²³⁴ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 306.

and attacks his pa to accomplish that promise (47). When he succeeds in burning down the pa and Iouikao and all his men perish in the flames, Maui's delight is described in quasi-Biblical language:

Ce sacrifice, sans pareil; Maoui l'eut pour si agréable; que la vie de mon bien-aimé devint, à partir de ce jour, une vraie marche triomphale. (47)

Sacrificing great numbers of people, especially to a god, was not a feature of traditional Maori society. At the end of a successful battle, there would often be a token sacrifice when the heart of the first enemy to die was offered to the gods in a rite known as *whangai hau* and another rite was performed over a slain enemy's lock of hair.²³⁵ A human sacrifice could also be offered to placate the gods on the completion of a new house or canoe, or to give a special dignity to the ceremony which lifted the *tapu* on the mourners after the death of a chief,²³⁶ and slaves could, of course, be killed at any time to provide a feast but people were not sacrificed to honour Maui or any other *tupuna*.

Fire was widely used by the Maori in religious rituals, where it went by the general name of *ahi tapu* and was closely associated with the presence of gods: "Ka whakanohoia nga atua ki taua ahi (The gods were located in that fire)" and offerings to an invoked god were thrown into it.²³⁷ In *Eki*, objects as well as people can be burnt to gain the favour of Maui whose emblem is fire, so that, when Taia gives birth to Akaroa II, she burns down "la case tabouée des accouchements" in order that Maui protect her newborn child (32). Even if the reason for it was simply to destroy the *tapu* of the site for other people who might want to pass by, the destruction of a birth-house was a well-established Maori practice:

After the mother, her infant, and attendants had abandoned the "nest house" that temporary hut was destroyed. Any such paraphernalia as mats used thereat would be collected by the *tohunga*, conveyed to the *turuma*, and there burned. [...] The hut also was destroyed by fire.²³⁸

Taia's dying words are to ask that her husband also sacrifice many slaves to Maui, but "Pas un seul sacrifice n'eut lieu" (32). His failure to carry out the right propitiatory rituals, which his son later blames on the "avarice de mon père" (38), are

²³⁵ Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 296-7; Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 228.

²³⁶ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 229-30; Best, *The Maori*, 1924, II, 60.

²³⁷ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 318-29.

²³⁸ Best, *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*, 1975, p.21.

seen as the cause of Akaroa II's initial problems: "Les mensonges de mon père retombent sur ma tête. Maoui m'accable" (37). The situation can only be reversed by Akaroa II offering compensatory sacrifices in vast numbers, for "Les Atouas ne protègent pas les Arikis moins cruels qu'eux!" (32). Foley would have read in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* that Maui's own downfall was the result of his father's badly performed karakia.²³⁹

When she is particularly upset at the thought that all the other members of her family have died, Eki is described as praying before "un petit fétiche" (20), keeping very still with her knees tucked up beneath her and with her head and chest upon the ground, occasionally breaking out into a few lines of a plaintive, nasal chant. The Maori did have objects, *mauri*, which they saw as enclosing a sort of guardian spirit that would protect their *kumara* plantations or which could be used in divination rituals by a *tohunga*, but they were not idols that were worshipped in the European sense.²⁴⁰ On another occasion, it is anger at the continued existence of an enemy which makes Eki mutter curses, wishing that the enemy's own daughters strangle him and eat his heart, as she indulges in "charmes, exorcismes, conjurations et autres formules ou opérations cabalistiques" directed at the enemy chief (26). This sounds very like the standard *kaioraora* or cursing song, examples of which were published by Grey in 1853, but only in the original Maori and not with an English translation,²⁴¹ so that in 1874 Foley would not have had access to published translated examples.

Akaroa II adopts a similar pose to Eki's when his father dies for he, too, lies down with his chest and forehead against the ground, but he also places his dead father's feet on his head while he mourns. This observation of Foley's is rather curious and does not conform to what has been noted by other people. The head of a chief was, of course, seen as particularly *tapu* by the Maori and Akaroa's placing of his dead father's feet on his own head would seem to be an extreme sign of submission that could perhaps, however, be seen as a variant of a ceremony noted by Shortland and discussed by Best in which a dying chief would ask his son to bite him, after he had died, on the forehead, big toe or genitals, and which would seem to be a way of

²³⁹ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, p.42.

²⁴⁰ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 250-1; Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.117-9.

²⁴¹ Grey, *Ko Nga Moteatea*, 1853, eg, p.282.

passing on the dead man's mana.²⁴² Akaroa I's body is adorned and placed in a sitting position with the his favourite patu placed on his knees before it is removed to a tomb, where the smoked heads of his many defeated enemies are placed alongside it while, behind the body, is a vast pit full of gifts, including the sacrificed bodies of slaves. There are "repas funèbres", "fêtes funèbres et chants de morts" (40). In traditional Maori society, the body of a dead person was, as Foley indicates, trussed and placed in a sitting position against a post for the several days of mourning and people often placed gifts, kopaki tupapaku, in the grave of a relative both before and after the arrival of Christianity, according to Best. The place of burial tended to be a secret, however, and when, after some time, the bones were dug up and placed in a tapu place, secrecy was again observed so that the bones would not be disturbed by enemies seeking to desecrate them.²⁴³ Many Maori "chants de morts" (waiata tangi) have been recorded, including the pihe that Dumont d'Urville learnt from Tuai in Paroa and then took around to Maori in other parts of the country to see whether they recognised it.²⁴⁴

After death, people's souls live on in the "séjour fortuné des morts" (40), says Eki, and, if they have been particularly prominent in their life on earth, they become bright features in the sky. Eki prophesies that when she dies in her solitude, there will be no funeral ceremony, her body will be taken by Taipos to a mountain cave while Moas will fly off with her soul into the sky where it will be "parmi ses sœurs les étoiles" (48, 56). It is a well-established Maori belief that the left eye of a great chief becomes a star in the sky:

The dying chief courts the silent state, that persuaded by his religious beliefs he feels assured an undying state of immortality awaits him. A feeling of exulting pride cheers his last moments, as his apotheosis is about to take place; his soul becoming a protecting divinity to his followers and posterity on earth, his left eye ascending to heaven, transformed as a star in the same spheres as his progenitor Mawé and his progeny, have become before him.²⁴⁵

When Eki dies, she appears in the night-sky as the seventh star in a constellation that is already made up of the other six members of her family who have died: her parents

²⁴² Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 357.

²⁴³ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 228, 375.

²⁴⁴ Sharp (ed), *Duperrey's Visit to New Zealand in 1824*, 1971, pp.45-8; see also R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, pp.143-7.

²⁴⁵ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 61.

and parents-in-law, her husband and son. To the Maori, the appearance of Matariki (the Pleiades) at dawn was an important event, as it marked the beginning of the Maori year near the end of May. Matariki was usually regarded as a woman and the seven stars as Matariki and her six daughters.²⁴⁶ This is almost certainly the group of stars that Foley had in mind for “la constellation des Akaroa” (47). Dead bodies were also placed in secret caves, as Foley suggests, but the notion of taipos transporting the body and of moas guiding the soul are Foley’s own invention.

This movement between earth and sky is not just the experience of the dead for there is the constant possibility of communication between the world of the living and the dead. Eki describes two sorts of religious experience she has as a result of her expertise in Maori lore, the first when spirits use her as a medium, her face becomes contorted, she foams at the mouth and makes strange noises. There are frequent contemporary references to people being waka atua, canoes for the spirits, and the Maori word for this state of possession is uru, which was characterised by wild, incoherent speech, porewarewa, and involved a very agitated body, rolling eyes and quivering arms.²⁴⁷

Eki’s second type of religious experience is a gentler sort of feeling of the sublime when it feels as though her soul, the soul of a living person, is transported momentarily to the “radieux séjour des étoiles” before returning to earth and taking possession once again of her body (36). If “les morts hantent la nuit” (51), the experience can sometimes be positive for she is regularly visited by the “génie” of the dead members of her family (47). Her father, husband and son “veillent sur elle pendant le jour” and at night, when she is asleep and dreaming, “elle va [les] rejoindre” (20). Meeting one’s dead spouse in one’s dreams was a common motif of waiata:

To a dear one, who comes only in dreams
To embrace me in Spirit land.
Oft me thought, dearest one, it was in the flesh.²⁴⁸

In the same way, Eki expects that, after her own death, she will look down on the whole earth and see the greenstone pendants that she has given to Édouard:

²⁴⁶ Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.112-3.

²⁴⁷ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 267.

²⁴⁸ Ngata, *Nga Moteatea*, 1959, p.101.

Mes yeux reconnaîtront mon jade. Il guidera vers moi les tiens. Une mère aime toujours revoir ses enfants, même étrangers. (48)

Families stay together and the living and the dead coexist, so that Eki can say, “Tous les chefs morts aiment Eki; et tous les chefs vivants la vénèrent” (20).

In line with traditional Maori thinking that practically all diseases and complaints were inflicted by the gods²⁴⁹, sickness in *Eki* is seen as the action of a spirit on a living person:

Le fou a, dans la tête; le bossu, dans le dos; ou le boiteux, dans la jambe, un esprit qui lui fausse la pensée, la stature, ou la marche; comme la femme grosse a, dans le ventre, un enfant qui la bombe et fait vaciller. (25)

Akaroa I's body was thus deformed in three different ways “parce qu'il logeait, à la fois, trois esprits” (22) and yet this is seen positively for they are “génies hospitaliers” (28) which, by tormenting him internally, give him the strength to fight against his external enemies. The “génies qui, la nuit, hantent cette plaine” (54) inspire fear, for night is associated with evil spirits, night's “perfides enfants” (30), “les fils odieux de la nuit” (31), “les méchants fils des ténèbres” (32), expressions which, like Shortland's “infant sprite”, may well be a reference to the atua kahukahu, the spirits of miscarried babies, which were seen as particularly dangerous as they had not learnt to be loyal to their family and tribe.²⁵⁰ On the other hand there are a plurality of “Atouas” who, like Maui and Tu-Mata-Ouengha, can provide people with protection (32). Mopou (when imagining how Iouikao would react to an attack) pours scorn on Akaroa, his father, his followers and even on Maui, himself, since his six-fingered chief has refused single combat, and calls on the sea to wash away the shame that has just been done to his country. There are great elemental forces at work, but the will of Maui is done.

Tapu is another Maori concept that Foley realises is hard to render in European terms:

Le mot tabou est de tous ceux que vous rencontrerez, dans cette suite de récits, le plus difficile non à comprendre mais à préciser. Toute prescription religieuse est un tabou. Toute personne que les dieux enjoignent de respecter

²⁴⁹ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 370.

²⁵⁰ Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.32-3; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856, pp.96, 126, 292.

est tabouée. Toute chose, vivante ou non, dont ils interdisent l'usage, provisoirement ou pour toujours, l'est aussi. (18)

Akaroa I is “trois fois taboué” and therefore to be venerated (22) in the sense that the gods have set him apart as worthy of great respect. A sick person, on the other hand, is someone “que le mal taboue” (32) and who must therefore be kept apart from those who are well. When she is about to give birth, Taia is treated as sick and therefore tapu and she undergoes childbirth in isolation from the rest of the community. The Maori practice of isolating a woman during child-birth was described in very moving terms by Dr Thiercelin who came across what he thought was a wounded animal “crawling and grunting” in some long grass near Akaroa, but found it was a woman in labour who, when he offered his services as a doctor, cried “*tapou, tapou* in a frightened tone”.²⁵¹ When Eki believes she is about to die, she wishes to be on her own in the middle of the swamps of the Grand Lac and she asks Antoine and Édouard to leave:

Maouï l'a dit: que le Mahouri, dès qu'il souffre, soit Tabou pour les autres hommes. Que le malade et le valide n'habitent jamais sous le même toit. (47)

Objects which are closely associated with a tapu person are themselves tapu: the ‘case d'accouchement’ is ‘tabouée’ (31) when Akaroa II is born and, when Eki dies, the Maori call out, “Eki est morte, Eki n'est plus! Que son champ et sa palissade et sa case aussi soient taboués!” (56) Tapu also regulates everyday activities in *Eki*, ensuring a certain harmony in what looks like chaos to an outsider. The curing of eels, for example, seems to Édouard to be a large group of individuals rushing about attending selfishly to their own business, but “Grâce au Tabou, tout alla bien. L'ouvrage finit avec le jour” (53). Because tapu was a belief shared by all Maori and because, as Polack noted, “The prohibitory law of the *tapu* enters into every subject relative to life in New Zealand”²⁵², it helped provide a general framework that allowed everyday life to proceed in an ordered sort of way although, as Best points out in criticising Nicholas for adopting the same view as Foley on the unique importance of tapu, there were also other “protective and corrective forces on Maori life”.²⁵³ Even so, Best concedes that, with tapu representing “the mana (prestige, power,

²⁵¹ Thiercelin, *Travels in Oceania*, 1995, p.152.

²⁵² Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1840, I, 274.

²⁵³ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, II, 18-9.

authority) of the gods [...] fear of the gods was the strongest preserver of order”.²⁵⁴ Tapu is seen in very positive terms in *Eki*, as a sign of a society living within its own complex set of religious laws, “leurs Tabous pleins de sagesse” (35).

Oral literature

Foley recounts at some length in *Eki* the story of how Maui created the different physical features of Banks Peninsula and was subsequently responsible for the waxing and waning of the moon. Although he had read and partly translated Grey’s version of the Maui story, these two linked episodes are not taken from Grey or from any other written source. In Foley’s version, supposedly told by Eki to Antoine, Maui, after fishing up the islands of New Zealand, settled there with his wife and children. Their peace was shattered by the arrival of a giant, “leur mauvais génie” (51), who wanted to live on the land, to eat Maui’s children and to take Maui’s wife. Maui fought with him and won, put him into the depths of the sea and piled mountains up on top of him, thereby creating the beginnings of Banks Peninsula. When the warmer seasons arrived, the giant moved and created Akaroa Harbour, forcing Maui to place more mountains on top of him. This process followed the seasons, with the giant lying still in the winter and moving in the spring, creating Pigeon Bay and then the valley containing the “petit lac”, Wairewa. Each time, Maui added more mountains and, on the third occasion, succeeded in keeping the giant underground, where all he could then do was make the earth shudder. Banks Peninsula was now complete.

The same pattern was repeated when Maui, along with his wife and children, died and he went fishing in the sky, catching the moon which they then proceeded to inhabit. When the giant died, he continued his fight with Maui in the sky, where Maui placed the moon on top of him, just as he had previously kept him subdued with the mountains of Banks Peninsula. Pinned down, the giant could only gnaw at the moon and eventually swallow it, but it was so large that he always vomited it up again, thereby creating the cycle of the lunar month as the moon grows smaller and disappears and then reappears and gradually resumes its full shape.

²⁵⁴ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, II, 15.

Although the two episodes of Foley's story about Maui are not recorded elsewhere, their different elements are found in traditional Maori narratives. Each of Foley's episodes, of course, begins with the traditional story of Maui fishing up land, a story which was told not only in New Zealand but, in slightly different forms, throughout Polynesia. The idea that Maui lives on the land he has fished up is found in an early work on the Canterbury settlement²⁵⁵, but it is noticeable that Foley does not distinguish between Maui's canoe (the South Island) and Maui's fish (the North Island), but assumes that he fished up both of them.

Fights between a hero and a monster also feature widely in Polynesian stories. Kupe fought the "terrible monster", the giant squid of Muturangi, in Tory Channel.²⁵⁶ Tawhaki fought against, and defeated, the cruel Ponaturi, a race that lived in a country "underneath the waters" but slept on the land at night.²⁵⁷ The tohunga Kiu defeated a taniwha, Tuahuriri, a former man, that lived in an underground den and assumed "the form of a man twenty feet high" to terrorise the people of Kaiapoi and Kiu forced it to supply the people regularly with food in recompense for their past suffering.²⁵⁸ Ngatoro-i-rangi, the Arawa tohunga, was so angry with the ogre chief Tamaohi that he stamped on the summit of Mount Tarawera, creating a huge chasm into which he stamped Tamaohi and then closed the mountain over him.²⁵⁹ Imprisoning a bad spirit by putting mountains on top of him is also rather like a story that explains the presence of huge boulders in the upper Rakaia River, with this time a monster fighting against a demon:

the taniwha journeyed up to the mountains and brought down huge stones and boulders with which he hoped to halt or even imprison the demon.²⁶⁰

The physical features of New Zealand were often said to have been made by early heroes or, as in *Eki*, by monsters. Beattie records several stories about S-shaped Lake Wakatipu being formed by the imprint of a giant (tipua), sometimes named Kopuwai or Matau, who was burnt while he was lying asleep on his side with his knees drawn up.²⁶¹ The hills and valleys of the land that Maui fished up were the result of

²⁵⁵ Knowles, *The Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand*, 1851, p.4.

²⁵⁶ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.162-4.

²⁵⁷ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.47-51.

²⁵⁸ "The Talking Taniwha" in Grace, *Folk-Tales of the Maori*, 1907, pp.173-80.

²⁵⁹ Cowan, *Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori*, 1925, pp.146-8.

²⁶⁰ WA Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*, 1950, p.100.

²⁶¹ Beattie, *Maori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord*, 1945, pp.33-6.

his brothers ignoring his advice and cutting up the fish without going through the right rituals. If they had acted properly, the land would have been flat and smooth.²⁶² In another story from Grey that explains some of the features of central North Island geography, it is the tohunga of the Tainui canoe who marked the land:

Ngatoro again went to stamp on the earth and to bring forth springs in places where there was no water [...] Whenever he ascended a hill, he left marks there.²⁶³

Regular natural movements, like the seasons or the tides, or sudden natural calamities, such as earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, were traditionally explained in ways very similar to Foley's descriptions of a periodically awakening giant or his attempts to swallow the moon. This is, for instance, the explanation for Lake Wakatipu's seiche. When the heart of the dead giant who lies beneath the lake

throbs with fierce energy, storms vex the surface of the lake; at other times it breathes calmly like an infant asleep and the lake rises and falls to that gentle undulation.²⁶⁴

Ruaumoko, who lives within or below the earth, is, like Foley's giant, linked to earthquakes and to the changing seasons, being "the cause of the changes of the seasons. In turning over he turns the winter below and the summer up, and vice versa in autumn".²⁶⁵ Foley's story of the moon being swallowed by the giant resembles a South Island version of the story of Rona:

He managed to get close to the moon, and then he started eating it. For a long time the moon was large, and then he ate it until it was small. And then the moon died.²⁶⁶

Other South Island versions of the story make the waxing as well as the waning of the moon explicit while retaining the essential notion that Rona is eating it.²⁶⁷ Not only does the moon get eaten but, just as Foley's giant covets Maui's wife, adultery and jealousy are at the centre of this version of the Rona story, with Rona killing his wife's lover on earth and then going into the sky to eat the moon. In both stories the hero's children are also threatened with being eaten. In a story from the Society

²⁶² Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.32-4.

²⁶³ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1956, pp.123-4.

²⁶⁴ Beattie, *Maori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord*, 1945, p.36.

²⁶⁵ Best, "Notes on Maori Mythology", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 8 (1899) 114; Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, II, 284.

²⁶⁶ C Tremewan (ed.), *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand*, 2002, p.243.

²⁶⁷ C Tremewan (ed.), *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand*, 2002, p.251.

Islands which is particularly close to Foley's moon-eating story, a demon from the west would eat the sun and

a demon from the east would devour the moon, but for some reason these angry ones could not destroy their captives and were compelled to open their mouths and let the bright balls come forth once more.²⁶⁸

The story of Maui as told in *Eki* combines motifs found in many Polynesian myths, making its authenticity as a local Banks Peninsula story quite probable, even though one cannot discount the possibility that Foley created his own combination of Polynesian and, as an earlier chapter in this thesis has shown, European motifs. Myth, as Foley says (51), shows that people in all cultures have the same ideas as a result of finding themselves in the same human condition and seeking explanations for it.

In addition to the recounting of this myth, Foley gives to Eki and other Maori characters verse lines that can be seen as modelled on standard Maori genres, such as waiata aroha (love songs), waiata tangi (laments) and ngeri (war songs). Although he had published a collection of Polynesian myths that Foley had read, Grey's collection of Maori verse was published in New Zealand and without any translations into English, making it much less likely, but not impossible, that Foley had read it. Smaller samples of Maori poetry were, however, published before 1874 in the more accessible works of Taylor and Shortland.²⁶⁹

The episode where Eki had been annoyed by Édouard and was establishing her position by reciting her lineage, marital connections and qualities is very like a patere (action song), in which a woman would boast of her lineage in reply to some slander or slight. Standing closely in front of young Édouard, Eki begins:

Eki est fille de chef!
Eki est femme de chef!
Eki est mère de chef! (19)

She then carries on to emphasise both the status of her father and husband and her own qualities. A patere composed after a woman has been shamed by the indifference shown to her by her husband begins in the same sort of way:

²⁶⁸ Westervelt, *Legends of Maui—a Demi-God of Polynesia*, 1913, pp.41-2.

²⁶⁹ Grey, *Ko Nga Moteatea*, 1853; R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui* 1855; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856.

A princess, indeed, is she who comes!²⁷⁰

in which the word “princess” translates “tapairu”, and the song goes on to give details of her whakapapa. Lineage is usually implied more obliquely than in *Eki*, by reference, for example, to places and events linked to ancestors, and it would normally go back a number of generations. A patere composed by Erenora, of Ngati Raukawa, begins with some gentle irony before quietly establishing her own high lineage.

Ye exalted ones, a lowly one indeed am I,
Not of recent times, of course,
But from time afar off, from my forbears.
Cast off in Heretaunga
Were Puororangi and Tarapuhi.²⁷¹

A difference—the major difference, perhaps—between Foley’s imitation of Maori rhetoric and the real thing is that Foley’s actual language is, for the most part, relatively simple. Maori poetry was the very opposite, being allusive and, to a European, elliptical. The manner of the recitation, which would have been delivered in short bursts of words, may have given a false impression of simplicity of content which would have been confirmed by the necessarily simplified translation which would have been given. The complexity of the images used and the references to recent and mythical events would have been impossible to translate in a live situation.

Foley has both the Maori and the two Frenchmen uttering the following words after Eki’s death:

Salut, gîte pauvre et sauvage!
Salut, chétive palissade!
Triste case, en lambeaux, salut! (56)

This is close to a very well-known song, “He tangi mo tona whare”, composed by a chief, Te Uamairangi, which begins:

E tu ra, e whare e,
Ka mahue koe,
Tarei ra, e te pepeke,
Whaihanga ra, e te tuturi, e²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Ngata and Te Hurinui (eds), *Nga Moteatea*, II, 1961, song 268.

²⁷¹ Ngata and Te Hurinui (eds), *Nga Moteatea*, II, 1961, song 142.

²⁷² Grey, *Ko Nga Moteatea*, 1853, p.105.

which can be translated as:

There you stand, house,
You are now to be abandoned,
Bore on, beetle,
Spin on, spider

In a waiata recorded by Taylor, a dying woman thinks of her son, Te Amo, as she prepares to join her husband in the spiritual world:

O Amo, my beloved,
Leave me, that my eyes
May grieve, and that
They may unceasingly mourn,
For soon must I descend
To the dark shore—
To my beloved, who has gone before.²⁷³

Even if she refers to the stars in the sky rather than to the dark shore, these are exactly Eki's sentiments as she tells her foreign "son", Édouard, to leave her so that she can prepare to join her husband (47).

Akaroa II and his warriors sing a war song of thirteen lines, with considerable repetition at the beginnings of lines and in which they talk of the weapons they are about to use in their attack on Iouikao:

Enfants du feu, préparez vos toko-tokos, si rapides!
Enfants du feu, préparez vos casse-tête, aussi légers qu'agiles!
Enfants du feu, préparez vos patou-patous sanguinaires! (43)

These are the sentiments and the repetitive rhythms that are found in a karakia like:

Brandish your weapon with a yell,
Brandish with a prolonged yell.²⁷⁴

Or in the ngeri:

Now, indeed, we take up arms,
Now we don the war-tunic.
Now we march in force
To the well of Raparapa²⁷⁵

²⁷³ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.145.

²⁷⁴ R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.82.

²⁷⁵ Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856, p.190.

Akaroa II is working his men into a frenzy and anticipating the defeat of the enemy with his

Soufflez, soufflez, enfants du feu!
Soufflez, que vos brandons s'enflamment! (43)

This is like the rhythmic mood-setting of the famous *ngeri* that begins:

When will your valour begin to rage?
When will your valour be strong?²⁷⁶

In this example, Shortland has typically translated “ure” (penis) by “valour”. The haka which Foley referred to so disapprovingly in another work²⁷⁷ were not from New Zealand but from tropical Polynesia, and the disapproval was because of the physical displays by the women. The sensuality involved, however, which was also present in New Zealand and which so many of the other Europeans at the time found so offensive, Foley represented in Eki’s description of her husband.

Most of the love poetry of the Maori was composed by women and complained of being deserted. The images used to describe the woman’s suffering as a result of her lover’s absence ranged from the most lofty sentiments to the most earthy. Of the fourteen admittedly short paragraphs of Eki’s description of her departed husband, only one sentence is devoted to his body, which she says is “souple et délié”, and to his limbs, which are “gracieux et languissants dans la pose, accentués et prompts dans le geste” (34/81-2). The rest of the detailed description is of his face and head. Maori poetry did not usually go beyond stating that the person loved was beautiful and Foley’s emphasis on the head betrays his European perspective because, to the Maori, it was the head that was *tapu* while the body, including the genitalia, was talked about in a very straightforward way, as Foley himself indicates when Eki shows Édouard her body tattoos. In one *waiata aroha*, for example, the woman poet remembers fondly the tattoos on the loved man’s buttocks.²⁷⁸ There are also references to wavy locks and tutu-tinted skin, more often in *waiata tangi* than in *waiata aroha*, but they tend to be expressions of non-sexual nostalgia for a dead relation rather than of sexual longing for a departed spouse or lover. The words:

²⁷⁶ Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, 1856, p.174.

²⁷⁷ Foley, *Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous*, 1886, pp.59-60.

²⁷⁸ Orbell, “Themes and Images in Maori Love Poetry”, 1977, p.481, *waiata* 68.

Let me now consume the spark of Mahuika
Which did sear thy naked thighs
And swept thy curly locks aloft in flames of fire²⁷⁹

are part of the lament of a father for his son, who had died in a fire. When Eki similarly lingers over Akaroa II's long curly hair, his long eyelashes, his fine nostrils, red lips and the hair on his throat, she too reveals a continuing, if rather different, emotion as she recalls her memories:

Aucun tatouage ne décore sa figure; et cependant elle est belle: si belle, que, maintenant encore, mes yeux se mouillent de larmes, en se la rappelant (35)

Maori love songs often speak like this of tears of regret:

Like heavy dew is this upon my tear-dimmed eyes,
With this love for my departed loved one.²⁸⁰

Foley has retained something of the sensuality of Maori love poetry, but has adapted it to his French readership.

Conclusion

A close examination of Foley's descriptions of Banks Peninsula and its Maori inhabitants has shown that, despite the time and the distance that separated the middle-aged Parisian writer of *Eki* from the young man who had spent three years stationed in Akaroa, his testimony is remarkably reliable. During discussions at the Société d'anthropologie in Paris, Foley made confident off-the-cuff statements about what he had seen on a particular South Pacific island where he had spent only a few days. In writing *Eki*, he was doubtless helped by the diary he had kept when he was in the Pacific. There are a few statements which are patently wrong (kiwis going out to pasture in the mornings, Akaroa I sitting on a throne in his canoe), he does not seem to realise that the pa he saw were musket pa and not traditional pa, and the language of his Maori characters has been made more acceptable to his European readers. If one can argue from what he does *not* talk about or does not place much emphasis on, he writes as though tapu were the sole determinant of social behaviour when there were other concepts, like utu (reciprocity, exchange, balance), which were just as important. Similarly, the Maori set of archetypal figures is simplified,

²⁷⁹ Ngata and Te Hurinui, *Nga Moteatea*, 1961, II, 227, waiata 172.

²⁸⁰ Ngata, *Nga Moteatea*, 1959, I, 243, waiata 72.

with Maui being given too high a status. Where Foley's descriptions differ from what is usually accepted as true, it is, however, often quite possible that he is right and that one should, as Atholl Anderson has done with the round houses of the South Island, question the accepted truth and look for passing comments in the writings of other contemporary observers which lend credence to Foley's testimony. Foley did not have access to all the books on Maori culture which have been published since the late nineteenth century or, at the time of writing, to Maori informants. Elsdon Best has shown that Captain Cook and many writers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century misunderstood or misinterpreted many aspects of Maori thought, often imposing European categories upon a very different culture.²⁸¹ In our turn, we now know that Best made serious errors, for example, in not distinguishing between pre-Christian and post-Christian views of Io. Foley wrote with the limited knowledge of his time but, rather than using Orientalist stereotypes, showed an intelligent appreciation of the difficulty of defining concepts like tapu or atua and made a creditable attempt to get inside the head of a Maori woman.

²⁸¹ Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 41-54.

CONCLUSION

Little attention has been paid to Foley's short work of fiction, *Eki*, which could easily be dismissed as a mere eccentricity. However, the argument of this thesis is that Foley's aim was quite different from that of merely producing easily readable fiction. When he published *Eki*, he had already translated and published some authentic Maori fiction—some of the myths recorded by Grey—and this had given him a feeling for its rhythms and perspectives which he was attempting, with varying degrees of success, to reproduce for a French reader. In so doing, he was undertaking something which Chateaubriand had dismissed as impossible when, in *Atala*, he said that writing like an Indian would make his work incomprehensible. Foley was trying to show what it was like to be a Maori woman and how the world appeared through her eyes.

The first chapter of this thesis has shown that Foley was well-qualified to do this. He had spent several years in the South Pacific, mostly in Akaroa, but he had also visited other Polynesian countries: the Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna. Within New Zealand, itself, he had been to Auckland, Wellington and the Bay of Islands. While the details of his day-to-day life in Akaroa are unknown, it is reasonable to assume that he visited the places on Banks Peninsula that he describes in *Eki* and had conversations with the local Maori people. His graduation from two leading scientific institutions, the École Polytechnique and the École de Médecine in Paris, shows that he was a highly intelligent man and it was certainly no mean feat to be seen by Auguste Comte as eminent, wise, active and discreet, with a rare combination of sensitivity, intelligence and action, and as the author of an exceptional medical thesis. Foley's marriage to Sara Jullien resulted in him going through what he called "le véritable creuset de [...] l'affection féminine" and learning to be more open to a woman's perspective on life. Knowledge of his family history—the role of Edmond Foley in the Fitzjames Regiment and of Jullien de Paris in the French Revolution—along with his own naval experience and living through the July Revolution, the 1848 Revolution, Napoleon III's assumption of power, the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Commune and the beginnings of the Third Republic, provided Foley with an awareness of the nature of military life and led him to

contemplate a scientific, industrial, peaceful society that would eventually incorporate Positivist ideals.

The second chapter of this thesis places *Eki* in the context of Foley's other published works. One of their notable features is the coexistence of different points of view in the one book, with the dominant view being questioned very effectively, often in some sort of dialogue. A particularly good example of this is the dialogue between Foley and Enfantin at the end of the first volume of *Quatre années en Océanie*, in which the theoretical basis for the whole book is vigorously attacked. Lucifer plays the same role in *Peuple et bourgeoisie*, mercilessly excoriating Maître A+B's Positivism for reducing the complexities of human life to simple formulæ. This shows Foley's ability to empathise with viewpoints that are not his own, or perhaps to recognise within himself voices that exist alongside the Positivist philosophy that he openly and fulsomely professes. It also shows a sense of relativism. Polynesians are referred to frequently in the most diverse works, where they are seen as the people who, in the whole world, are closest to Europeans for, unlike other racial groups that are struggling to survive or that are fully preoccupied with mere action, these two peoples are seen as having both arrived at the "mental" stage of human evolution when moral and aesthetic interests are paramount, even if Polynesians represent what Europeans were like many centuries earlier.

Chapter three shows parallels between European and Maori societies which are used to illustrate Comtean ideas. Foley's extensive reading of the works of Auguste Comte and his regular personal contacts with the Positivist leader had provided him with a perspective that allowed him to see Maori culture in a positive way. He was neither a Christian missionary wanting Maori to forsake their "false" beliefs and "evil" values nor a settler wanting to justify his presence in a new land. Even though Maori culture was still in what Comte called the theological and warrior stage of human development and had some way to go before becoming scientific and industrial, *Eki* already personifies many of Positivism's ideals and represents the progressive forces that are helping to bring about a better world. Foley was writing at a time when warrior society was not, in fact, far away from Parisians who had just lived through the Franco-Prussian War and the suppression of the Commune but who held out great hope for the success of the Third Republic. It is probably because Comte saw women as exerting an important, civilising influence over men that Foley

chose Eki to be the central character of this novel which is based on the premise that cultures progress through different stages. Even the Maori men, who are warriors in all aspects of their lives, are, in Comtean terms, contributing to human progress by being strong, energetic individualists and by creating, through their conquests, larger and more complex societies, and through learning, often from women, that aggression needs to be tempered by other values such as prudence. Eki incarnates the Positivist view of woman as kind, altruistic and concerned with ethical and aesthetic matters. Wanting to ensure that traditional Maori culture is handed on to the next generation, she gives Édouard prized family treasures and instructs him in Maori history and culture. Just as the French had recently suffered invasion and political turmoil, the Maori had recently been colonised by the British, but the novel looks forward to a time when the Maori would once again assert their independence and resume their progress towards Positivist peace and prosperity. Eki is to be seen as a crucial figure in this process, one of “les vrais bienfaiteurs de cette contrée” (17), and it is a basic Comtean idea that one should build steadily upon the past and not try to change society through revolution. Eki represents the sort of person who, in the time of the Gauls and the Franks, helped move French culture towards the enlightened state that it was at last assuming in the late nineteenth century. The third chapter of the thesis shows the Comtean perspective that an alert nineteenth-century French reader of *Eki* would have seen.

Chapter four singles out the various voices present in *Eki*: notably the framing voices of experienced, confident Antoine compared with the excited and somewhat confused, young Édouard who is discovering a new world, and the central voice of Eki who narrates most of the book. In this very carefully structured book that is full of parallels and contrasts, each narrator has a different style, with Eki, like other Maori characters, often shifting into a sort of incantatory verse form, using a vocabulary that reflects her environment and changing suddenly in mood. The actual ellipses in her narrative, however, could be seen as major flaws in Foley's craftsmanship since important events can appear motiveless, psychologically bizarre or the result of incredible coincidence, and neither the chronology nor the geography is clear and explicit. Instead of condemning them as weaknesses in a European realist narrative, though, one can see these features of Eki's narration as deliberately and cleverly used to convey the nature of oral narration in general and Maori story-telling

in particular. (Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* which Foley had read and partly translated had, itself, not made many concessions to European reading conventions.) This, however, risks limiting the appeal of Foley's work for, even today, authentic renderings of Maori stories are read only by specialists, while the general public reads versions of them that have been given the structures of European realist narration.

Chapter five shows that many of the features of *Eki* can be found in the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, for Foley had received a classical education and, in *Eki*, explicitly comments on the links between Maori and ancient European mythological explanations of the universe. Moreover, oral literatures from around the world tend to share many structural characteristics, including the organising of components into twos or threes and the use of appositional expansion rather than chronological sequence. Virgil's *Aeneid* provides precedents for both the form and the content of *Eki*, with many little details susceptible of being seen as echoes of the Latin epic. Fénelon's *Télémaque* is known to have been a model for Foley's writing and may sometimes be the immediate source of these classical influences. Like *Eki*, it is the story of a young man's journey into exotic lands in the search for wisdom that will allow him to return to his native land and promote an enlightened form of government.

In *Eki*, Foley faces the same problems as many other nineteenth-century novelists who set their fiction in foreign countries, often creating an exotic world, seen from the outside, that merely objectified the dreams of European males or saw differences as faults that could only be corrected by adopting European ways. Chateaubriand clearly saw that his North American Indian narrator in *Atala* had to be versed in ancient and modern European culture if his story were to be intelligible to a French reader and Duras's Senegalese narrator in *Ourika* was similarly educated as a French aristocrat and was completely divorced from the culture of her birth. In *Le Mariage de Loti*, an older European male plays cynical games with a teenage Tahitian girl in an idyllic tropical setting, even if he finds that he is emotionally more engaged than he expected. The male narrator acknowledges a cultural divide, but at no time do we see what the young Rarahu really thinks and feels and how the arrival of Europeans appears from within Tahitian culture. For the plucky young European adventurers in Jules Verne's *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, Maori cannibals are one more obstacle

to be overcome in their noble quest for the missing captain. Isabelle Aylmer's *Distant Homes* is about plucky British settlers for whom Maori are part of an exotic decor in which they continue to lead British lives.

There are novels, however, in which the Maori are the principal characters. Wilson's *Ena* resembles *Eki* in accurately depicting the Maori at war and in ending with the heroine's death, but it has little psychology and a great deal of action, and does not bring the reader to empathise with its characters. Other novels are more interested in describing traditional Maori society than in creating exciting adventures, and combining the plot and the anthropology has clearly presented the author with quite a problem. D'Urville's *The New Zealanders* provides a great deal of anthropological information in lengthy footnotes, while the main story contrasts the good Maori, who have adopted European ways, with the bad Maori, who continue in their benighted and cruel superstitions and wars. D'Urville has a young Maori narrate a significant part of the novel, but, as in *Atala* and *Ourika*, it is a narrator who has been educated in European values and who has limited sympathy for his traditional culture. Johnstone's *Maoria* is so taken up with the minutiae of Maori life that characters and plot are all but forgotten. White's *Te Rou* is another excellent source of anthropological information, but characterisation and plot are, once again, so very basic that the book does not achieve the writer's aim of communicating information on Maori culture to people who had not or would not read his *Ancient History of the Maori* in six volumes. Among all these novels, *Eki* is the only one to have as its principal narrator a person who is still totally integrated into his or her traditional culture and who speaks from within it without compromise. This, of course, creates problems of comprehensibility for the European reader who faces the same problems as Foley did when talking to Maori on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s.

Chapter 6 tests what Foley says about New Zealand and the Maori against other testimonies to see how reliable he is in describing Banks Peninsula and the traditional life of its inhabitants. His descriptions of the peninsula and the nearby lakes provide a rare view of the countryside before it was radically changed by European saw-milling and farming. Foley's descriptions of traditional Maori clothes and ornaments, tattoos, housing and canoes, food, class and gender roles are of great interest and seem generally reliable, often giving greater credence to an isolated remark found in some other source (the presence, for example, of human hair on a

cloak) or bringing in some interesting new information to add to knowledge on such poorly-understood notions as a taipo. The description of the way eels were dried differs in some respects from what is known from later sources, like HT Tikao, but could well be an accurate record of what happened in the 1840s. Foley's descriptions of weapons, warfare and fortifications are often quite detailed, even if he did not have the historical perspective that would have enabled him to distinguish between the traditional and the musket pa. The myth about Maui that he recounts could well be a story that he actually heard on Banks Peninsula, although other explanations are also possible, and the rhythms, sentiments and images of Eki's speech can sometimes match traditional waiata. This all means that, while one cannot accept everything he writes as an accurate first-hand observation, a careful examination of Foley's comments on Maori culture shows that he can provide confirmation of remarks that are made in other sources and suggest new possibilities. This can be very valuable as so little has been recorded of Maori life on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s and so many of the books on nineteenth-century Maori culture describe what are likely to have been North Island practices only.

Because Foley has a multiplicity of aims in writing *Eki*, there can be, as we have shown, interference between them. In echoing a motif from the *Aeneid* to give his work the status of an epic and the form of oral literature, Foley introduces a false note in his depiction of the habits of the kiwi, which does not have the same habits as the swan. In following Comtean views on religion, he is tempted to turn Maui into a monotheistic god. His attempt to imitate the elliptical nature of Maori oral narrative can confuse readers who are looking for cause and motive, leading them to think, perhaps, that "the sound of industry" that will one day replace New Zealand's empty countryside is to be interpreted as the coming of European settlers rather than as the independent progress of the tangata whenua. His accurate portrayal of Maori repulsion at menstruation can be seen as clashing with a Positivist desire to portray women as spiritual mentors. A Positivist view of women and in particular Comte's insistence on never remarrying, even if one were widowed, may also have prevented Foley from portraying Maori society as polygynic. In his desire to see the positive side of warrior society, Foley does not portray cannibalism as accurately as he could have. He sees it as mainly confined to the lower classes and as a way of dealing with

bodies that are already dead, failing to acknowledge that people were killed specifically for food.

There are other inconsistencies that cannot be blamed on the coexistence of different goals, however. Despite an anti-colonialist stance that is faithful to Comtean doctrine, his high opinion of contemporary French thought leads him to suggest that the French could help the Maori people progress towards peace and prosperity. Foley's desire to describe Maori culture accurately comes up against the limits of his knowledge when, for example, he fails to distinguish between a traditional and a musket pa, to the discontent of an informed New Zealand reader. His assumptions about religion, based on European practices, lead him to depict Maori as thanking the gods or praying to them for assistance instead of simply reciting charms to ward off evil spirits.

Despite these problems of detail, Foley's different aims can also be seen as reinforcing each other. The adoption of a Positivist perspective to portray Maori culture ensures that Foley avoids the pitfalls of the colonialist writer who uses stereotypical Maori figures to indulge his dreams or who proclaims a supposed superiority in order to justify his takeover of land and minds. Instead, thanks to Comte who is often seen as the founder of sociology, Foley shows the results of careful scientific observation while a combination of various Comtean doctrines (including anti-colonialism, human progress through militarism to industrial peace and prosperity, and the civilising role of women) leads him to identify with Eki and tell the story from her perspective, giving her and the society which she represents considerable status. His knowledge of Maori society allows him to provide examples that illustrate Positivist thinking and convince the reader that warring chiefs can, in ancient Gaul and in nineteenth-century New Zealand, be the active precursors of the sort of society that Comte envisaged for the future of humanity, while discouraging any reversion in nineteenth-century France to the use of violence to resolve current political problems. Foley's earlier translation of Maori myths has enabled him to write in a manner that makes one wonder whether the story of Maui creating Banks Peninsula is authentic and to express what could almost be called a Maori Positivism: Eki has confidence in the future despite serious setbacks, for a better

future is achievable through the altruism—in the face of aggression and brutality—that she incarnates.

The overall impression, then, is that *Eki* is a novel written by an intelligent man who uses it to express Comtean views on the evolution and progress of human history, and to show French readers, through a depiction of Maori culture, what their own European past was like. He, quite incidentally, also gives twenty-first century New Zealanders his lively impressions of what a particular part of New Zealand was like before it was transformed by European colonisation. The following translation will show the richness of a narrative that is concerned with several different things at once and is an attempt to reproduce the tone, rhythms and forms of Maori oral literature.

An English Translation

Translating Foley

Two very inadequate manuscript translations of *Eki* into English have already been written, along with Jenny Maclean's much more competent work.¹ The latter, carefully annotated, breaks new ground, with, in particular, some informed comments on the representation of Maori life, but the actual translation is written in a relaxed modern style that is far removed from Foley's own prose and it also contains a certain number of errors and misunderstandings. The present translation attempts to recreate, for the twenty-first century New Zealander, something approaching the reading experience of a nineteenth-century French person confronted by Foley's text. It has been written quite independently of these earlier attempted translations, but some comparisons with the Maclean translation will be made here to illustrate the different criteria used.

It was felt that the style, itself, of Foley's text was such an important element that it should be retained as much as possible. For example, Foley's

Sa légèreté m'amuse et son expansion me fait du bien. Ce m'est un précieux compagnon de voyage ... Tête folle; mais cœur d'or. Viennent les ans et ce sera un fameux homme. Je te serre la main. (9)

receives a breezy and colloquial, modern translation from Maclean:

I like his impulsiveness, and it's good to have someone so enthusiastic with me. It's really good to be travelling with him ... A bit of a tear-away, but a heart of gold. When he's a bit more mature, he'll be great. Cheers.

While this may well be what a young person today would have written if placed in a similar situation to Édouard's and while it may make the modern reader feel more at home in Eki's world, this is a long way from the style and tone of the original. An equally free but stylistically closer translation was felt to be more appropriate, keeping the reader at the right distance from the text:

¹ Jenny Maclean, *Eki*, 1993. The translation held by the Alexander Turnbull Library (MS-Papers-1614) was purchased from Maggs Brothers, London, in 1973. Dr PB Maling of Christchurch holds another typescript translation.

His impulsiveness amuses me and his exuberance is good for me. He makes a marvellous travelling companion ... Although still a little inconsistent, he has a heart of gold. In a few more years he will be a great fellow. I bid you all the best.

Actual elements of the plot or of the descriptive passages could easily have been deleted or added to without any distortion of Foley's purpose, but that is not the case with features of style. When Eki declaims "Eki est fille de chef! Eki est femme de chef! Eki est mère de chef!" (19), it is clear that any one, or even two of these elements could be omitted without any subsequent consequence. Similar and extra claims to chieftainly parents could, just as easily, be inserted for her husband and parents without altering the tone of her speech. A hypothetical translation: "My father, my husband and my son were all chiefs", although conveying the same information—and even more, since it points out, immediately, that all three were dead—, is *not* what Foley wrote. It deprives the translation of the incantatory rhythm which, as this thesis has been at pains to point out, is a central feature of Foley's writing. He is wanting to reproduce Maori narrative style rather than write a realist European novel.

The attempt was made to retain the inherent rhythms, particularly in the spoken text. Eki's speech, in general, and the poem quoted from Corneille provide good examples of this. When Maclean translated Corneille's second verse, the correct information was conveyed, but the tone and rhythms were changed radically. Corneille's verse reads:

Que ton vouloir soit le mien,
Que le mien toujours le suive
Et s'y conforme si bien,
Qu'ici-bas, quoi qu'il arrive,
Sans toi, je ne veuille rien. (15)

Maclean has rendered it as:

Let thy will be mine
And let mine always follow it
And conform to it well
So that down here, no matter what happens
Without you, I will desire nothing.

My translation, although by no means perfectly achieved, has attempted to keep the text in its poetic form, rather than in prose.

Let thy will be mine,
 Let mine always to thine
 Conform and follow so
 That here below,
 Whatever comes to pass,
 Without thee I desire nothing.

Similarly, Eki's speech:

Enfant! comme les yeux d'Akaroa, les tiens sont bleus.
 Comme les paroles d'Akaroa, les tiennes sont légères.
 Comme le cœur d'Akaroa, le tien est bon.
 Comme lui, enfant, je t'aime et t'aimerai toujours. (21)

is translated by Maclean as:

Child! Your eyes are blue like Akaroa's.
 Your words are gentle, like Akaroa's.
 Your heart is good, like Akaroa's.
 Child, just like him, I love you and I will love you always.

I have attempted to reproduce the chanting rhythm of this speech by retaining the French word order, in defiance of more normal translation practice:

Child! Like Akaroa's eyes, yours are blue.
 Like Akaroa's words, yours are gentle.
 Like Akaroa's heart, yours is good.
 Like him, child, I love you and will love you always.

With regard to the actual translation, however, it was felt that one of the elements most apparent to the original reader, that of 'otherness', was in danger of being lost. Foley wrote for educated French men and women of the late nineteenth century whose background knowledge of European, and particularly French history, was quite different from that to be expected from a twenty-first century New Zealand reader. Foley needed only to allude to important European political events since it was clear that his readers would understand the allusion. The situation was completely different for the references to New Zealand matters, which had to be explained to readers who could be expected to be hearing about such things for the first time. A modern reader is unlikely to be interested in an allusion to some industrial dispute in southern France in the middle of the nineteenth century, in any case, and the New Zealand references, although of interest, are so because of their familiarity rather than because of their exotic or alien nature which would have

confronted the nineteenth-century reader. The different impressions made on these two sets of readers are, unfortunately, not interchangeable and the translation, I feel, has to take this into account.

The attempt has been made to reproduce such differences—while retaining accuracy of translation—by the, necessarily, more subtle alienation of the reader through a choice of less common words and less-expected turns of phrase. This happily coincides, of course, with Victorian English usage and with the register of Foley's French. Foley's "beauté virile" (10) was left as "virile beauty" instead of Maclean's more everyday rendering, "handsome face", and, to compensate for the missing alienation caused, originally, by the Maori content, the repeated word "Aussitôt" (28) was translated as "At once". Foley was very consciously using less common words, phrases and phrasing, itself, in an attempt, I feel, to prevent the reader skimming through what they might have thought was merely a romantic adventure novel set amongst the cannibal savages of New Zealand. He was trying to convey the seriousness of the underlying message of his writing and the dignity and value of Eki, herself, and of Maori culture, in general. A not completely dissimilar difficulty to that of this translation was also faced by nineteenth-century English writers in "translating" Maori speech. Wilson, for one, and while not translating speech, is using an even higher register than Foley to emphasize the nobility of his character when he writes:

Atapo heeds not the fiery skirts or the burning fingers of Aurora: on the elfin-blasted peak he will stand at midnight, when the black night wanders over the lichened crag; when the sea-god bellows on the black stone of the deep, he will crush the stranger beneath his heel; to the towering forest tree he will fix the fiercely-climbing tongue of fire, to lap up the feeble tears of the puerile Whiki.²

This language of Foley's was combined, in *Eki*, with the words and expressions referring to seafaring which emphasized the exotic setting. An early decision was made to try to retain these aspects. A more monosyllabic and Anglo-Saxon translation consisting of sentences no longer than twelve words which would have been more familiar to twenty-first century readers would not have done the work justice. The style is an integral part of the book.

² Wilson, *Ena, or the Ancient Maori*, 1874, p.25.

Such words as ‘guibre’, ‘altière’, ‘antre’ and ‘brandon’ belong to a high literary register that harks back to another age. Technical words like ‘damier’, meaning a particular type of petrel, along with ‘guibre’, are, again, likely to be known only to those interested in ornithology or sailing. Since it is *not* everyday language, it is clear that Foley chose this language carefully and deliberately. The basic difficulty for the translator was to find expressions that resulted in a similar reaction—amongst twenty-first century English-speaking readers—as the original text would have done amongst its nineteenth-century French readers. A purely mechanical part-answer to this problem was to retain, where possible, the original French. Synonyms still in their French form or of recognisably French derivation were chosen over their Anglo-Saxon equivalents as were the more polysyllabic alternatives in general while less common words were chosen where possible. “Trois fois saint” (11) was translated as “thrice a saint”. “A threefold saint” would also have been appropriate, I feel, whereas “three times a saint” would not.

The changes in social structure that have made such paternalistic or fawning phrases as “la bonne Eki”, “Maître A+B” and “Cher et vénéré Tuteur” now scarcely acceptable were taken into account, in the first of these three examples, by simply leaving the potentially offensive element out. What is now seen as the overly effusive nature of the “Maître A+B” and “Cher et vénéré Tuteur” was kept, since no-one was likely to be offended by the expressions, in any case, as a further element keeping the modern reader slightly off-balance. The overtly foreign elements left untranslated or unchanged, such as ‘piccaninny’ and ‘grigri’, were also part of the attempt to retain the *balance* of the original. They replace the lack of familiarity of the New Zealand and Maori references to the French reader. The word order, itself, was often inverted or made less common for the same reason that Foley, himself, resorted to the same techniques. “Ainsi j’aurais pu dire moi-même; si alors j’avais su parler” (27) has been translated as “Thus should I have spoken myself; had I then known how to speak” instead of the hypothetical “if I had known how to speak then”. This follows Foley’s pattern in the first part of the sentence but changes slightly in the second half to sound more consistent stylistically in English.

Faithfulness to the original’s overall intention was given preference over an exact translation. Elements were as freely added as taken away. Foley’s “Son propre développement exige-t-il une transformation” (12) has become “Should it require

transformation". The "propre" has been dropped, as not necessary in English, and his "un monde parfait et trop justement regretté" (12) has become "a perfect and sadly no longer existent world". The negative connotation which, to me, seems implicit in the word "justly", in English, prevented the use of "so justly regretted". This points out a problem. To me, the word "justly" has moved from a neutral meaning of "and rightly (or correctly) so" to that implying "and it serves him/it etc. right!" I have since found out that not everyone shares this opinion and the situation highlights, in one word, the difficulty of achieving an entirely acceptable translation of anything whatever.

The idiosyncratic punctuation was basically retained because, although its significance does not seem apparent now, it had clearly been meaningful to Foley since he had gone to a great deal of trouble—in the days of manual type-setting—to have it done. Many of Foley's semi-colons have disappeared in the translation, however, because they crossed that line between being faithful to the original and being silly. As the author, Foley can write, "Quand Maoui aura, de nouveau, reconquis sa terre lumineuse; ce dernier lien se brisera." (47) It was felt that, in English, a semi-colon between the last two phrases was distractingly wrong in the sentence: "When Maui, once more, has conquered his radiant land, this last link will be broken." When, in the following paragraph, it seemed possible to follow the original, this was done. "Eki, si, chez les Mahouris, l'occasion éveille parfois l'avarice; puis la violence; puis même le crime ..." remains acceptably English as "Eki, if, with the Maori an occasion sometimes excites avarice; then violence; then even crime ..." As in the corrected French text at the beginning of this thesis, the number of points of suspension has been regularised and quotation marks have not been repeated at the beginning of every line within direct speech.

Foley's capitalization of such words as 'Moas' and 'Taipos' has been kept in the English translation so as to retain a distancing element for these semi-mythical creatures, but the more everyday Maori words such as 'kiwi' and 'toetoe' have been written without the initial capital. In a similar manner the French conventions for spelling Maori words have been changed to those of present-day New Zealand Maori. In the English translation, 'tapou' has therefore become 'tapu' and 'toco-toco' is written as 'tokotoko'. The names of mythical (Maui, Tu-Mata-Uenga) and

historical figures (Te Rauparaha, Tamakeke, Tikao, Iwikau, Maopo, Iotete) have been spelt following the conventions which were established by early British missionaries and which are now universally accepted. In the interests of simplicity and readability, there has been no attempt to use macrons or double vowels to indicate vowel length.

A decision needed to be made whether or not to follow what has very recently become the practice of not adding the English plural 's' ending to Maori words that have become part of New Zealand English. This was not, of course, the case in Foley's time, but we are now arguably in a post-colonial, rather than a colonial, situation. Normally, when a word is adopted from another language and its usage is widespread, it adopts the morphology of its new host. Thus, when Maori took the word 'king' from English to create the new Maori word 'kingi', it added the normal Maori suffix to create an abstract noun, 'kingitanga'. It is when a borrowed word remains on the erudite edge of a language that it keeps its original morphology among the intelligentsia or the cognoscenti: 'genera' as the plural of 'genus', or 'criteria' as the plural of 'criterion', for example. However, one would have to be both learned and pedantic to prefer 'octopodi' to 'octopuses' or to order a 'panino' instead of a 'panini'. The power relationship between two languages and cultures can, nevertheless, be regarded as important: the colonising English language can be seen as imperiously imposing its rules on the colonised Maori language.

Given the present state of New Zealand society, a desire by many Pakeha not to offend Maori sensitivities and a desire by many Maori to stand up for their own morphology, a compromise solution to this problem has been reached in the translation. The word 'Maori', itself, used as a noun describing a member of the Maori race, appears to have been isolated as the prime example of Eurocentric linguistic racism when it is pluralized by the addition of an 's.' This is so much the case that, although speaking of 'two Maori' still sounds peculiar to a middle-aged South Island Pakeha, speaking of 'two Maoris' has become offensive. 'Maori' has therefore been used without a plural 's' in the English translation: "The Maori sucked fernroot" (369). A plural 's' has, however, been used with other words borrowed from the Maori. Present-day English regularly uses a plural 's' for many Maori words, including both family and place-names, such as 'the Harawiras', 'the

Inland Kaikouras' and 'the Waitakeres'. In the English translation, words which have become an integral part of the English language, including 'kiwis' and 'moas', have been given a plural 's', while clarity, as well as idiom, seemed to demand the same treatment when Eki proclaims that she is "the last of the Akaroas" (371). In other words, an attempt has been made to follow present-day New Zealand English usage sensitively and intelligently.

EKI

DEDICATION

To Madame Félicie Guillaume.³

My dear, my dearest friend,

Without you I should never have had Prosper Enfantin and Adolphe Jullien as patrons; permit me, then, in this dedication, to join their names with yours.

Dr. A.-E. Foley

INTRODUCTION

Dr ANTOINE TO MASTER A+B⁴

*New Zealand, Banks Peninsula,
Akaroa Harbour,
January 184...*

Thank you, my dear friend, thank you for having left your ward in my care. His impulsiveness amuses me and his exuberance is good for me. He makes a marvellous travelling companion.

Believe it or not, after five months of being together day and night he still has no idea of our plot.

Although still a little inconsistent, he has a heart of gold. In a few more years he will be a great fellow.⁵

I bid you all the best.

Dr Antoine

³ Félicie Guillaume, née Froliger, was the “compagne” of the Saint-Simonian political thinker, Prosper Enfantin, (1796-1864). Adolphe Jullien (1803-1873), a prominent engineer and railways executive, was an uncle of Foley’s wife, Sara, née Jullien.

⁴ Maître A+B appears in other of Foley’s works where, as the A+B formula suggests, he is a Positivist philosopher of some standing.

⁵ It can be assumed that Antoine Édouard Foley has created characters who represent himself as an older, wiser man, Antoine, and as his younger, less experienced self, Edouard, the junior naval officer.

Edouard to Master A + B

Akaroa, January 184...

My dear and kind guardian,

Accept, I beg you, my power of attorney; take up once more the administration of my affairs; forgive my thoughtless behaviour and restore me to your favour.

You will think this another fit of madness, seeing me so reasonable, but I tell you, 'No!' Thanks to the guide, the friend, the mentor that chance has given me, I am cured: and for ever.

Let me introduce him to you so that you will know and thereby love him: you will more easily believe in my new-found wisdom.

Your sincere and humble servant,

Edouard.⁶

P.S.—His story is attached.

'My grandfather, an Irish Catholic from Clamore, County Waterford,⁷ was a good and intrepid soldier; hot-headed in time of peace, cool-headed in time of war.

Nothing was more sacred, in his eyes, than duty and honour. So it was that he was dying of boredom and loyalty in the service of the Stuarts, who had sought refuge in France,⁸ when these princes thought they would rid themselves of a superfluous supporter by authorising him to serve the foreigner. The foreigner was Louis XV.⁹

So, despite being no longer young, he joined the Fitz-James cavalry regiment;¹⁰ he rose rapidly enough through the lower ranks and was promoted to ensign.

Sadly, at the battle of Fontenoy¹¹ fortune, by its very prodigality, betrayed him. The consequences of his meritorious conduct were that His Most Christian Majesty

⁶ Foley was known as Édouard amongst his friends.

⁷ No place called Clamore has been located in County Waterford. This is probably a reference to Clashmore, which is in the west of the county near Dungarvan.

⁸ James II fled to France in 1688 after his defeat by William of Orange, later William III. He had his court at St. Germain-en-Laye under Louis XIV.

⁹ Louis XV succeeded Louis XIV in 1715, at the age of five, and reigned until 1774.

¹⁰ James Stuart, duke of Berwick and of Fitz-James, was given his second title by Louis XIV in 1710. In 1733 the Nugent Regiment became the FitzJames Regiment.

¹¹ May 1745, fought in Tournai, in Belgium, during the war of the Austrian Succession. Maurice, comte de Saxe's most famous victory but also important to the Irish—with whom Foley clearly identified.

signed, with one stroke of the pen, his promotion to the rank of lieutenant, to the nobility and to crippledom. The unfortunate soldier, with no right arm and his left hand mutilated, had to take himself sadly off to the home for disabled heroes.

His misfortune then obtained for him what his virile beauty could not. With compassion's help my grandmother overcame her horror of his blasphemies, and the suitor she had rejected in his full strength, she married as a cripple.

A praiseworthy but futile devotion! All the enlightened care of this generous woman could not keep alive a man who, in spite of his wounds and his gout, dreamed of nothing but the battle-field.

And so he died; leaving to his widow nothing but a rather sickly child.

The poor woman accepted this sad inheritance nobly, and, cherishing in her son the memory of a belated but profoundly felt love, she made of my father a lively, educated and affable man. Contacts in high places opened a diplomatic career to him; the rest he achieved on his own merits.

He was still young and a secretary in the Madrid Embassy when my grandmother fell terminally ill. This was in 1789.¹²

Returning with all speed to Paris with the young Spanish girl he had just married, he closed my grandmother's eyes, quit his career and, like so many others, threw himself into the revolutionary movement.

His leader was the great Danton. They perished together.¹³

After this devastating tragedy my mother, without pausing to gather up the little we had, returned to Madrid. Poverty and grief soon undermined her abundant and glowing health. At the age of eight or nine I lost her.

She passed away with me in her arms.

Poor, alone and still a child; what would become of me?

The Dominicans offered me a refuge and in the enthusiasm of my youthful gratitude, without full understanding of what I did, I committed myself to the service of the Holy Virgin.

During the following long years the hopes of both my guardians and myself were amply fulfilled. But, with maturity, came doubt,¹⁴ and after that anxiety and distress. These troubled me so much that, finally, I made a full confession to my supervisor.

He was a venerable man, a saint, thrice a saint; a retired officer, both wise and clever, whose body and heart had been sorely wounded during his long service.

¹² This is made to coincide with the French Revolution.

¹³ Danton was guillotined on 5 April (16 Germinal) 1794, along with fourteen of his followers.

¹⁴ Foley was brought up as a Christian and a Catholic, but renounced these beliefs in favour of Positivism.

In the evening of his life he had outlived his children as I, at the dawn of my life, had outlived my parents; he had come to the monastery and above all to God, to seek consolation ... for pains inconsolable.

Ah, how tenderly we loved each other.¹⁵

After I had made my confession, he questioned me at length, at great length and many times, and changed my course of study.

For five or six years afterwards we spoke of nothing but science.

Then, one evening, he fitted me out in lay clothing, signalled me to follow him, opened the monastery gate, placed some provisions under my arm and several small coins in my hand. With his eyes full of tears he covered me with kisses, saying:

“Dear child, it is better to be a good citizen than a bad monk! Go! Join that small detachment you see over there.¹⁶ They are French!

I have instilled more science into your head than you need to survive and you have enough goodness in your heart to be happy.

Always remember your mother and this old Dominican.

Never bear arms against Spain.

With this last kiss receive my blessing. Farewell!”

And he disappeared.

For an instant I knelt down and shed my tears on the threshold of this so-welcoming home. I fervently embraced the walls which had kept me so safe when the whole of Europe had been engulfed in blood and flames¹⁷ and, gathering my strength and my courage, I ran to beg, for the first time in my life, the protection of my own countrymen.

I approached them. The officer in command questioned me and there I was —his servant.

Oh what a vile thing is war!

Pursued, beaten, tracked down like wild beasts, running from shame to shame, from defeat to defeat and reduced in numbers to less than a half we reached the frontier.

Poor France! A hundred times more exhausted than twenty-two years earlier,¹⁸ you had for your sons, defeated in their turn, but one as yet unviolated haven: Paris!

Caught up in the throng of refugees, I went there with them.

What could I become? A valet! There was no alternative.

¹⁵ His relationship with his parents, and especially his father, was strained but he clearly regarded both Comte and Enfantin as father-figures.

¹⁶ This would have been in 1813, during the retreat from Spain.

¹⁷ Napoleon had been enlarging his Empire in Europe since 1799.

¹⁸ This may refer to the early defeats of a war with Austria in 1792.

For five days I went knocking on doors, begging for a position. A doctor opened his door to me.

The first time that I saw him he was writing.

“What can you do?” he asked, without looking at me, and in the brusque manner of someone annoyed at being interrupted.

“Nothing!” I replied.

“Then what do you know?” he answered, becoming a little impatient.

“Alas, I know Latin and Spanish (better than French, I confess). I know mathematics well, physics less well and a little chemistry.”

As I was speaking he lifted his head, his piercing and bright little eyes darted towards me and held me in their gaze for a long while; he then sent me back into the antechamber.

I waited five hours. I was so hungry!

When I re-entered his study the doctor was on one side of the fireplace, his wife on the other, and there was a chair between them waiting for me.

If ever in my life I was interrogated, questioned, tossed and turned about, it was certainly then.

Tired of not understanding my replies they finally asked for my life story.

I told them everything in detail and remained with them.

I became in turn copyist, student and doctor; then secretary, locum and partner to my master; then, with time, even more.

Here is how it happened.

My protectors had an only child: a daughter, not unequivocally beautiful but certainly delightful.

Her whole bearing, her features and gestures, the way she looked and spoke, all about her was so sweet and so good, so simple and so gracious, so pure, so calm, so deferential to the opinions of others, as it were, that she was like an angel,¹⁹ eager to provide for others the delightful impressions of a perfect and sadly no longer existent world.

Strangely, even at our first meeting, this child who was so kind to everyone, this child that I loved immediately, was never anything but stern and disdainful to me.

And, more strangely still, it seemed to me that those who were heaping so many favours on me were almost happy with this.

The timid efforts with which I attempted, over several months, to overcome this incomprehensible rejection only served to aggravate the problem. And so I accepted this small portion of hate as the just price of my unmerited adoption. I scrupulously avoided all contact and, concealing every emotion, every pleasure and every pain, I

¹⁹ Foley, like his mentor, Comte, thought of women as agents for the “angelisation” of men, helping them to transcend their original and brutish nature.

lived, a secret miser, cherishing the secret I had preciousy enfolded in the depths of my heart.

Was I happy? Yes, a thousand times yes!

The family organism resembles that of an individual. Should it require transformation to further its own development then immediately its various components or organs—father, mother, children and servants—experience a nervous modification resulting in completely new behaviour patterns.²⁰ Then the crisis takes place. Once progress has been accomplished, emotional and material health are restored and each organ returns to its habitual ways.

I too suffered these growing pains, just as nations do in their own way. This is how:

In the delightful talks which the doctor and I so often had in the evenings, conversation firstly began to flag, then to become difficult and, finally, to become painful. Successively science, politics and even religion lost their power to enliven his spirit, which had formerly been so gay, so agreeable and so instructive. Then came hesitations, hints and finally reproaches.

In short, I was a burden to everyone, an untrustworthy friend, an odious wretch who was continually embarrassing and above all (above all!) continually embarrassed.

Finally the explosion came.

“Dear and venerable master,”²¹ I said one evening to my guardian (I thought the time well-chosen!) “if I have managed in any way to offend you, if ...”

“Offend me,” he exclaimed, piercing me with his gaze, “offend me! ... If only you had done so the first day you came here! ... If only you had, at least once, given me a pretext to send you away!”

As I rose to leave he held me back and continued:

“Ungrateful child, could you leave us this way? ... Listen to me, it concerns my daughter, my dear ... my only child! She was only a few days old ... a terrible accident forced me to dare anything I could: she lived. She lives! ... but a terrible scar prevents her ever becoming a mother.

In spite of all my efforts ... in spite of all her perfections, her ineffable goodness has need of an affection that is younger, more intimate and ... above all more devoted than ours.

Oh, my dear child! Is it not true that to hold the perpetuation of the species as the predestined goal of marriage is only to bestialize that most noble of human institutions?²²

²⁰ As the father of sociology, Comte looked in human society for scientific laws which he saw as closely connected to biological laws and, through them, to physical laws. This results in frequent social and biological analogies and, in anthropological works, some cultures are seen as childlike or even at the ‘vegetable’ stage of evolution while others are depicted as more mature.

²¹ This is the same form of address that Foley used in his correspondence with Comte.

²² Comte felt that it was time to “régénérer le mariage humain, en le concevant désormais comme destiné surtout au perfectionnement mutuel des deux sexes, abstraction faite de toute sensualité” (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 285).

Is it not true that the best as well as the most beautiful mission of woman ... is to improve the heart of man, to influence and ennoble his thinking through her own better qualities and purity of heart? Is it not true?"²³

He was weeping as he spoke to me thus. He was weeping and clutching my hand!

As for me, troubled, devastated by his extreme pain; I dared not understand him!

Then, drawing me to his heart and, for her, embracing me, he added: "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*"²⁴

"Oh, my dearest master," I said at last, "and you, my wonderful and unhappy mother and you, my noble and venerable Dominican ... precious guardian angels of my youth;²⁵ I swear to you that I will keep the vow of my childhood²⁶ all my life."

Two months afterwards I was married; and we left, my wife and I.

Our parents had imposed this temporary exile upon us in order that we might more immediately meld together, one with the other.

Should I acknowledge it, we left them almost joyfully. Alas! We knew nothing then of the harsh school of real life.

Provincial curiosity welcomed us eagerly. Its thousand mean pettinesses repelled us even more quickly.²⁷ So it was, then, that we found ourselves forced to find happiness only in each other's company.

At this time the whole of France was in ferment. The revolution, of which 1830²⁸ had been the prelude, was trying to find its true expression. After two years the social question (evaded by some and misunderstood by others) presented itself squarely in Paris and even more so in Lyon as this terrible dilemma: *To live, working, or to die, fighting.*²⁹

This new Gordian knot of our modern societies was slashed through this time, as so many other times, by the sword and the courts. The political and religious

²³ Comte's view was that: "L'amélioration morale de l'homme constitue donc la principale mission de la femme dans cette incomparable union instituée pour le perfectionnement réciproque des deux sexes" (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 288).

²⁴ "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46).

²⁵ Positivists believed that so-called guardian angels, usually close relations, helped men to perfect themselves. "Voilà pourquoi la mère reste alors notre principal ange gardien. Les anges n'ont pas de sexe, puisqu'ils sont éternels" (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 290-1).

²⁶ This appears to be a combination of a reference to his dedicating himself to the Virgin Mary when he entered the monastery and to the Positivist ideal of a marriage in which sexual relations were regarded as secondary to the true goal.

²⁷ Foley, himself, moved to a small provincial town after his marriage and wrote similarly to Comte soon afterwards, on 4 July 1857: "si jamais j'ai rencontré la cupidité personnifiée sur la terre, c'est bien dans les habitants de cette petite ville" (Maison d'Auguste Comte, dossier Foley).

²⁸ Foley, as did Comte, believed that the July Revolution of 1830 was less a real revolution than an expression of revolutionary sentiment.

²⁹ 1834 uprisings of workers and republicans in Lyon and Paris.

organisation of the liberal and industrial world was adjourned yet again and the old remnants of the feudal regime returned to power once more, but under a new name.³⁰

Unfortunately, that was not the end of it!³¹

After the defeat discouragement and despair overwhelmed the few members of the middle-class and the innumerable workers who had, for fifteen years, been seeking a better future.³² With the aid of some atmospheric variations,³³ as happens during all times of great political calamities, a terrible scourge³⁴ was seen to descend on all those souls who had been deceived in their most cherished aspirations.

Let us pass quickly over those days which were so cruel for so many families. Mine, alas, was destroyed. My father-in-law paid with his life for his generous eagerness in the relief of others; his wife could not survive him and this double tragedy caused the death of my own wife.

I am told that I remained with these three perfections of humanity both until their deaths and during the journey to their last resting place. I have no memory of it. I lived for six entire months without conscious thought.

At last my reason slowly returned to me, very slowly. Its first return gave me pain. My selfishness, first to be awakened, made me see solitude for the rest of my days and solitude terrified me.

“What shall I do?” I thought to myself, faced with the emptiness of my heart.
“What shall I do?” And this so simple question my still numbed intelligence could not resolve.

Each time that death, if not its odious inventor, had persecuted me, humanity’s élite had sheltered me, indulged me, even.

I had passed my entire life in the most pure, the most chaste and altogether best world possible. All my life I had savoured to the full the delights of togetherness and intimacy: all my life, intoxicated by this intimacy, I had not given a thought to the future.

I had lived my whole life, in fact, scarcely suspecting that there is a goal more noble than that of living quietly, a horizon wider than that of the family, and emotions if not sweeter then at least more vibrant than those of domestic harmony. I had imitated the lazy caterpillar: eating, sleeping, roaming over my beloved and hospitable leaf

³⁰ The Restoration, begun with Louis XVIII and ending with Charles X—both Bourbons—was forcibly dismantled and the July Monarchy began with Louis-Philippe.

³¹ In the 1874 edition this line is in smaller type.

³² That is, since the Restoration in 1814. The 1830 revolution benefited the upper bourgeoisie the most.

³³ Foley refers in other works to this belief which constituted part of the contagionist/anti-contagionist debate concerning the origins and spread of cholera (Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 1996, p.77).

³⁴ Outbreaks of cholera in 1832 and 1849 killed nearly 40,000 in Paris alone and, because they occurred just after revolutions, a connection was established between revolution and cholera in the minds of scientists as well as the general public (Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 1996, pp.2, 21-2, etc.).

and dreaming of but one thing: to roll myself up in it for ever and to bury myself there forever.³⁵

Alas! As does every chrysalis, I had to have my awakening; and this awakening, the exact opposite of my previous existence, was to live henceforth only for others:³⁶ I who had only existed dependent on them.

“What shall I do?” I thought then and, defeated by despair and desirous above all of not sullyng those constantly renewed mental images of those who had given me all I had, I forced myself not to reply.

But they, still more generous to me than I was to myself, saved me yet again, saying to me, with a common accord: “*That which we ourselves can no longer do; do in our stead.*”³⁷

Since that time, and as my life is no longer mine, it has become more dear and more precious than ever.

The pains with which the present assails me seem less when I think of those whom I love; and those which the future seems to hold for us all, I work to prevent,³⁸ in the place of those generous men who have passed on to me all of their knowledge.

Through roaming the earth, through studying our species in all its climates, in all its forms and in all its social stages³⁹ in order that I might be in a position to deliver it at last from our two greatest modern scourges - revolutionism and cholera, I live as usefully and as happily ... as I can!

This said, my noble master, lowering his voice more and more, eventually spoke to me no longer and began, as he did every evening, to recite this short prayer:

“O you who command that I live; help me to resign myself, remove all bitterness from my only too real sorrows and bequeath to me all your virtues that I might take your place.”

Then came (as if unbidden, on his lips) these admirable verses from the great Corneille:⁴⁰

Ensure, Lord, that my desire
Has as its goal invariable
Only that which thy good pleasure
Would find most pleasing,

³⁵ This is a variation of what Foley refers to as the vegetative stage of human life. By “vegetative” he is referring to automatic or involuntary actions like breathing and digesting. “Nous pouvons et devons vivre de trois manières à la fois [...] à la façon des végétaux (ainsi faisons-nous pendant le sommeil)” (*Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 135).

³⁶ A positivist maxim found constantly in Comte’s works.

³⁷ This corresponds to Foley’s own life: both of his intellectual masters, Enfantin and Comte, had died and Foley clearly felt a need to continue with their work.

³⁸ By expounding the virtues of positivism and more specifically, as he says, by fighting cholera and revolutionism.

³⁹ A not unreasonable description of Foley’s *Quatre années en Océanie*, in particular.

⁴⁰ “Oraison pour faire le bon plaisir de Dieu”, from Thomas à Kempis, *L’Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, in Corneille’s translation (Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, 1963, pp.973-4). Comte suggested to his followers that they read Thomas à Kempis every day, but being careful to substitute “Humanité” for “Dieu” (*Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 282).

That which *it* would choose.

Let thy will be mine,
 Let mine always to thine
 Conform and follow so
 That here below,
 Whatever comes to pass,
 Without thee I desire nothing.

Let it prevail
 O'er what I might propose,
 And place outside my power
 To wish for any thing
 But what thy wish might be.

THE GREAT LAKE⁴¹

Edouard to Master A + B

New Zealand—Three principal islands—In the north, Te Ika-a-Maui,⁴² the middle-sized one. In the South, Stewart Island, the smallest one—between these two, Te Wai Pounamu, the largest. Cook Strait to the North and Foveaux Strait to the South separate this last island from the other two. On its east coast, about half way down, Banks Peninsula, the little (very little) lake⁴³ and the great lake are to be found.

My dear and kind Mentor,

The tale that I am about to tell you requires that you firstly know about the vast, untamed plain, half marsh and half grassland, known here as The Great Lake.

Permit me, then, to show it to you as my noble master and I saw it and, even more, how it impressed us.

It is afternoon. The day could not be finer. We are both seated on the summit of the southernmost peak of Banks Peninsula. Sometimes chatting and sometimes looking at this immense stage on which some of the events that I am anxious to relate to you took place, we admire its wondrous majesty, letting it overwhelm us.

⁴¹ Ellesmere, Waihora or, with its South Island spelling, Waihola. The Maori believed it had been dug (along with many of the other South Island lakes) by Rakaihaitu on his arrival from Hawaiki.

⁴² Foley has "Ika-na-Maoui", with the particle "na" rather than the more usual "a", as does Robert M^cNab: "The natives of Ika-na-Mauwi" (*Murihiku*, 1909, p.321). No longer current, it nevertheless seems more apt since it refers to the fish that Maui *brought up*, rather than that *owned by*. The Maori particle "na" means "*By, made by, acted on in any way by*" (Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed., 1997).

⁴³ Forsyth or Wairewa.

On our left the sea extends as far as the eye can see. On our right and before us the New Zealand Alps raise up their gigantic and permanently snow-covered summits. The white crests of their mountains form bizarre festoons in the blue of the sky above and, under our feet, the great lake unfolds its immense carpet of green far beyond the most distant horizon.⁴⁴

A narrow, white fringe borders it to the east. It is the isthmus of sand that separates it from the sea.⁴⁵

Here and there little patches and long, sparkling ribbons spangle its green; these are the pools and water courses which prevent it from being simply grassland.⁴⁶

The sun shines brightly. Its flaming rays, breaking on the thousands of crystal facets of the glaciers, set the mountains afire. A crown of fire encircles the plain.

The diaphanous mists from its humid and over-heated soil reflect and multiply the sparkling ornamentation of this splendid crown and all its dazzling images shimmer, constantly changing their shape and colour with each wayward breeze that leaves its wake on the uneven surfaces of their invisible mirrors.⁴⁷

Confronted by this grandiose fairyland, an inseparable mix of the fantastic and the real; in the centre of this world as vast as space itself, as silent as the tomb and quite new to me: my delighted imagination rushes off into the realms of wonder and the unknown.

As my imagination becomes lost in space, my mind, overcome with admiration, asks more and more questions, each more insoluble than the last until, little by little, my exhausted intellect slides down the melancholy slope of doubt and discouragement.

“How immense the world is and how small man!
We are crushed by it all!
What can we, poor pygmies, do?”

.....

This was my state of mind when my most dear master, feeling my anguish, encircled my thoughts with his own and, still retaining their form in every way, drew me back from my bewilderment and led me, almost, to worship the works of man.

“Child,” he said, “this country which appears so beautiful to you is, in fact, nothing more than a vast coffin.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Waihora was very much larger in the 1840s than it is today, but since the Southern Alps are clearly visible on the horizon behind the lake when viewed from either the south or the east—Foley’s described viewing-points—this is clearly exaggerated.

⁴⁵ Kaitorete Spit. Predominantly composed of greywacke stones, it is unlikely that in Foley’s time it was either white or made of sand.

⁴⁶ The edges of the lake were a marshy mixture of water and vegetation.

⁴⁷ Foley is speaking of the heat mirages which could, indeed, have seemed fairy-like for a Parisian.

⁴⁸ Foley refers later to the Wairewa area as a coffin also.

In the spring the melting snow floods this plain. In summer everything is dry. In the autumn rain brings a new torrent of fresh water and, during the winter, storms and high tides drive waves in from the sea to bring total chaos.

The normal cycle of the seasons and variations in the weather mean that this whole swamp area is subject to constant change.

Sometimes, then, it is overflowing with water; at other times parched.

Sometimes, then, the fresh water of today can be brackish tomorrow and, the day after, be as salty as sea-water!

In such a changing environment what could survive for long? Nothing, would you not say?

To be born, or rather to arrive; to begin, almost at once, to waste away; to expire soon after; and then, immediately, to decompose. This, then, is the common fate of the fish, the reptiles, the shellfish and even the plants that either venture there or find themselves cast up by cosmic disturbances ...

This sequence of periodic or random destructions poisons the atmosphere above it and renders it all but uninhabitable.

This is why you will never see anything but migratory birds which have lost their way; rats ... and some wretched jade seekers,⁴⁹ poor devils of Maori, fever-ridden, pale and unrecognizable shades of a human race as white and as beautiful as ours.⁵⁰

Just as you see this desert, my friend, so, in the primitive days of our own history, did our earliest ancestors see our own beautiful homeland ...

But when the hand of man has worked this sepulchral soil; in a few centuries, or sooner perhaps, these bogs will be changed into rich breeding grounds for fish; these watercourses, this unstable and water-logged land will consist of regular canals,⁵¹ solid roads, arteries bringing life to industry.⁵² In the place of these reeds and wild rushes there will be fertile fields and fat pastures; the sound of industry will succeed the silence of the tomb, villages, towns (perhaps?) will bring people to this unnerving emptiness. When the atmosphere has been finally purified, civilized men, animals and plants will thrive in it.⁵³

May the true benefactors of this land not remain unrecognized by their descendants; as our ancestors are by theirs!

To continue, in the nineteenth century, to invoke in their place and worship as a model of social behaviour a being who had neither wife, child, profession nor homeland is unimagable...⁵⁴

⁴⁹ An indication that, although they knew that greenstone, or pounamu, came from somewhere in the South Island, Europeans in the 1840s did not know exactly from where.

⁵⁰ "Les insulaires de la Polynésie sous-tropicale ne sont-ils pas aussi beaux et aussi blancs que nos plus blancs et nos plus beaux Européens?" (Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 193). Much of Foley's racial theorizing is concerned with the actual function of the skin as well as its colour, however.

⁵¹ An opinion voiced on the subject in 1833 pointed out that, already, "The aborigines look with pity on these tasteless occupants of their soil, and sigh to think that power and prosperity do not suffer the lovely face of nature to remain as it was in the days of their fathers" (Lamb et al. (eds), *Exploration and Exchange*, 2000, p.250).

⁵² Another Positivist maxim, "Le progrès est le développement de l'ordre", is printed on the title-pages of Foley's *Quatre années en Océanie*. As "Ordem e Progresso" the maxim also features on the flag of Brazil, a country where Positivism has left a lasting and major legacy.

⁵³ This refers again to the contagionist/anti-contagionist and "malarial" or "bad air" theories of contracting disease (see Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, 1996, p.77). In his later years Foley consistently refused to accept the newer theories of such people as Pasteur.

⁵⁴ An allusion to Jesus Christ.

He fell silent.

In the course of this strange speech, which he stopped and started many, many times, the south-west wind had come up.

It had grown gradually cooler.

It grew colder still and the delightful spectacle which we had had beneath our eyes changed completely, and in an amazingly short time.⁵⁵

Clouds assembled on the horizon. The sun was sinking fast. The shadows of the mountains grew longer and longer on the watery plain, and the vapours which covered it, invisible until then, began to veil it from sight as they condensed.

Indeed, to remain and contemplate the sudden change in this fickle scene would not have been without charm, but we had already waited too long. With every passing moment the wind whistled more shrilly as, with each instant, the bank of clouds it chased towards us took on more sombre tones.

“Haul away!”⁵⁶ said my noble master, “we must reach Eki’s home before nightfall.” And on we went, hastening our aerial descent.

The path which led us down to the shore was most hazardous. With sheer drops almost all along, it followed the cliff-face so closely that the terns, the gulls and the albatrosses

(flying about in their alarm) touched us with the ends of their wings in passing.

No, never in my life shall I forget the perpetual swirling of these storm birds, their mournful cries, the violence of the wind and above all ... above all! ... the dizzying heights ... Oh, would we never arrive?

Arrive! Not at our destination (there were still two hours of walking) but only at the foot of the hill that I spoke of at the beginning of this letter, or, if you prefer, at the northern shore of the isthmus that separates the great lake from the sea.

Now that you know, more or less, both the appearance and the climate of the vast plain where Eki lives, it only remains to acquaint you with her domain, her person and a portion of her story.

EKI

Edouard to Master A + B

The natives of New Zealand call themselves Maōri,⁵⁷ as we call ourselves French.

⁵⁵ The changeability of the New Zealand weather was and remains both a wonder and an irritant to non-New Zealanders.

⁵⁶ This is one of several such expressions that Foley uses, derived from his time in the navy.

⁵⁷ “Maori”, in the Maori language, means “ordinary” or “common”, and is used in this way by Foley later when he differentiates between the commoners and the chiefs and their relatives. It would never

They call a type of amulet which they wear around their necks a Grigri⁵⁸ and the jade it is made of Pounamu. It represents a naked man who is poking his tongue out. It is Tu-Mata-Uenga,⁵⁹ the father and god of cruel mankind.

Flax⁶⁰ is a textile plant, remarkably similar to the iris, but 4 or 5 times bigger.

The Taipos⁶¹ are very rare bears, possibly even extinct.

The Moas, gigantic apteryxes, are in the same category.⁶² They were 15, 16 and 18 feet high.

The word 'tapu' is, of all those that you will encounter in this series of tales, the most difficult—not to understand, but to define. Every religious prescription is tapu. Every person that the gods enjoin to respect is tapu. Every object, living or not, that they forbid the usage of, either provisionally or for ever, is also tapu.⁶³

Dear and venerable Mentor.

A piece of land fifty or sixty square metres in area, bare, without a single plant and baked hard by the sun; in the middle a dome-shaped hut three or four feet high;⁶⁴ behind that, to shelter it from the sea winds, an enormous pile of mud;⁶⁵ in the front, forming the main courtyard, a tiny fence;⁶⁶ finally, around the whole, enormous clumps of phormium tenax (flax), arundo australis (toe toe)⁶⁷ or other plants of similar size: such is Eki's estate.

This solitary habitation, set back two or three miles into the interior of the great lake,⁶⁸ has but one defence; the excessive difficulty, I might almost say the complete impossibility, of finding it.

Eki is small, old,⁶⁹ withered and completely disfigured by her tattooing.

This tattooing consists of bluish, parallel lines so numerous and above all so dark that it seems, at first glance, that the unhappy woman has, between her eyebrows, a

have been used by Maori to denote the race as a whole until they needed to distinguish themselves from non-Maori.

⁵⁸ "Grigri" is of African origin and a word, presumably known to Foley's contemporaries, which refers to any sort of amulet. Foley did have a heitiki, just like the one that appears on the original title-page, in his possession in Paris.

⁵⁹ Tou-Mata-Ouhenga in the original, but Tou-Mata-Ouengha on the frontispiece of the book.

⁶⁰ "Formium" in the original, an example of modern and local usage changing over the years.

⁶¹ The word 'taipo' is discussed pp.278-9, *supra*.

⁶² There were, as Foley guessed, no moas in the country: the Maori having hunted them to extinction (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.21). "[The moa's] discovery by the Europeans was due to the Maori, about 1836, bringing in bones and showing them to a trader" (Oliver, *The Moas of New Zealand and Australia*, 1949, p.3). It was not only the existence of the moa that was questioned—that of the tuatara was also, with the conclusion that "whether it ever had existence or not, is a point very difficult if not impossible at present to determine" (Cooper, *Journal of an Expedition Overland from Auckland to Taranaki*, 1851, p.138).

⁶³ In contrast to many of the early Europeans, Dieffenbach, like Foley, regards tapu as "a wholesome restraint, and, in many cases, almost the only one that could have been imposed [...] It was undoubtedly the ordinance of a wise legislator" (*Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 100).

⁶⁴ These huts were extremely common, able to be quickly put up (often as temporary shelter), and were quite different from the more well-documented rectangular dwellings. See pp.293-5, *supra*.

⁶⁵ This does not appear to have been typical and it is possible that Foley had sunken pit houses in mind, which were not where porotaka. Such a thing is certainly not mentioned elsewhere. See pp.293-5, *supra*.

⁶⁶ Again this is not typical of a single house, but is possible. See pp.295-6, *supra*.

⁶⁷ Foley uses the Latin names—the more current names will be used in the following pages.

⁶⁸ The site of the hut is discussed pp.272-4, *supra*.

⁶⁹ "Forty was the grand old age of the lucky ones as the life expectancy of adults was about thirty years" (Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land*, 1981, p.8).

terrible, lozenge-shape hole right through into her skull.⁷⁰ Around her mouth she has two great black lips poised to devour their red sisters.⁷¹

The little azure crosses which cover her neck, shoulders, breast, arms and the rest of her body make a better impression. In increasing, as much as possible, the numerous marks resulting from her untimely bereavements, the pain they caused this poor savage have at least not added to the repulsion of those tattoos of her vain and coquettish youth.⁷²

Eki has retained her forefathers' mode of dress. Her hair, tied up in the Chinese manner, forms a short sheaf at the top of her head,⁷³ tightly bound by braids at the base but extravagantly opening out at the top. An abundance of brown, silky and curly locks escape in every direction. Unfortunately this coiffure, gracious in itself, is ridiculously over-endowed with pigeon feathers.⁷⁴

For jewellery, Eki wears a jade amulet at her throat and, in the left ear only, long pendants of the same stone. Her skirt⁷⁵ is a flax blanket, very finely woven but small, dirty and almost in tatters; over this she wears a large piece of the same material, extremely filthy and far too large for her.⁷⁶

The two top corners are fastened, at her right shoulder,⁷⁷ with a long fish bone and the remainder of the material simply falls the length of her emaciated body.

All the ornamentation of Maori art is to be found on this regal vestment, formerly woven by Eki for her noble husband.

Tufts of wool, dog hair and human hair, delicately interwoven with the thread; long fringes and wide embroidery strips on the edges ... it is all there.

In the white, red or black geometric figures which border it, finesse, grace and harmony of colours are so perfectly combined that it is a real pleasure to follow these naïve designs beneath the thick layer of filth that covers them.

The most elegant flax sandals⁷⁸ you can imagine complete the costume of this singular woman.

⁷⁰ The parallel lines (Moko-kuri—after Maui's tattooing of Irawaru/dog) and mark between the eyes are typical of traditional South Island practice (Joppien and Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, 1987, I, 183; Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.262).

⁷¹ The lips, themselves, were sometimes tattooed, but a particularly clear photograph reproduced in Orbell's *The Natural World of the Maori* (1985, p.195) gives a perfect illustration of Foley's description. The tattooing appears to have been coloured-in, in some way, so as to stand out more.

⁷² Foley contrasts tattoos done for ornamentation, probably in young adulthood, which he finds distasteful, and self-scarification as a sign of mourning. See pp.289-93, *supra*.

⁷³ A "putiki", a style favoured by chiefs and not usual for women. However, "married women sometimes wear it loose and flowing; sometimes they tie it up in different shapes, according to the fashion, which is as changeable in this respect as with us" (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 56). See pp.286-8, *supra*.

⁷⁴ One of the Maori in Meryon's "Assassination of Marion du Fresne" has this hairstyle.

⁷⁵ Clothing is discussed pp.280-4, *supra*.

⁷⁶ Many early Europeans, from Cook onwards, commented on the dirtiness of the Maori (eg, Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 355).

⁷⁷ Although the left is the female side, in the South Island women fastened their cloaks on the right (Heuer, *Maori Women*, 1972, p.32). Another possibility is that Eki was showing her mana by wearing the cloak in a masculine way.

⁷⁸ "Paraerae hou" or "kuara" (Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, 1851, p.311).

At times Eki speaks with an almost convulsive volubility. At other times she is silent and engrossed like a child trying to make sense of a new toy.

Sometimes the way she looks and moves is calm, slow, even majestic. At times, in contrast, it has the confusion or perhaps the anxiety and the agitation⁷⁹ of madness.

Destitution and luxury, childishness and dignity, langour and frenzy, despair and enthusiasm: in Eki everything is excessive, but kindness⁸⁰ outweighs everything else.

The following story, better than a longer description, I hope, will complete her portrait.

I had put Eki out of sorts, by not paying attention to her tales, by my too obvious aversion for the whale oil with which she anointed herself,⁸¹ by failing to lend her my pipe⁸² or by some other misdemeanour.

In short, she felt I needed to be taught a lesson and gave me one: this is how.

Standing up, she stood herself in front of me, lifted up her clothing and, slowly turning around, almost touching me, forced me to examine her minutely.

Flabbergasted, I was looking once more at the rich tattooing encrusting her belly, her hips, her buttocks and the top of her thighs when, taking up her first position, she said to me, with an impetuosity which almost bordered on fury:

“Eki is the daughter of a chief!
Eki is the wife of a chief!
Eki is the mother of a chief!”⁸³

The Maori sucked fernroot and the Moas⁸⁴ ate eels! Maopo⁸⁵ has killed the Moas and the Maori now eat the eels!⁸⁶

⁷⁹ “Mobilité” in the French edition. A reference to Comte’s and, hence, Foley’s belief that both individuals and cultures progress through the same stages. This meant that children and primitive peoples share certain characteristics and explains Foley’s references to the child-like nature and abilities of the Maori (Foley, *Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous*, 1870, pp.49-50).

⁸⁰ Foley uses the word “bonté”, which is closely linked to the key Comtean concept of altruism and to Comte’s view of the role of women in society. It is a quality which he considered was developed early in humanity’s history as a tool, almost, for influencing or governing others (Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 227).

⁸¹ More normally shark oil, or hinumango. It was used primarily as a mixing or binding agent for various colouring substances (Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.479).

⁸² It was, and is, common to comment disparagingly about Maori addiction to tobacco. In a situation not dissimilar to the contemporary situation in China concerning the opium which the English imported, in many cases the Europeans would pay for services only with tobacco, of which they were the sole providers.

⁸³ This style is almost certainly Foley’s attempt to imitate Maori speech-making. Much of the content of Eki’s speech is also quite accurately typical—an orator’s lineage was mentioned at the outset.

⁸⁴ Moas almost certainly did not eat eels and were themselves a food-source for the Maori.

⁸⁵ Maopo is referred to throughout as “the hunter.”

⁸⁶ At Wairewa Selwyn had reported in 1844 that eels were almost the only means of subsistence, and the principal food at Taumutu (Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, 1998, p.152).

The Taipos ruled on the plain and the greenstone⁸⁷ belonged to them!
Maopo has killed the Taipos and the greenstone now belongs to the Maori!

Maopo was a bold hunter!
Eki is his daughter.

Akaroa,⁸⁸ made thrice tapu, conquered the peninsula.
Eki is his daughter-in-law.

Akaroa⁸⁹ the six-fingered chief,⁹⁰ reigned over land and sea, in the North and in the South.
Eki is his wife.

Akaroa,⁹¹ the beautiful, blue-eyed child ...
Eki is his mother.

Eki is his mother! And she mourns him as she mourned his father.
Eki is his mother! And she mourns him as she mourned her husband.
She mourns him! For the evil brought by the strangers,⁹² blanquettes⁹³ (the Maori give this name to the white, woollen coverings) and fire-water⁹⁴ have killed Eki's beautiful child."

Her voice had become slow and plaintive in pronouncing these last words but suddenly she reverted to her previous volubility:

"Eki has the most skill in wood-carving!
Eki is the most adroit in weaving flax!
Eki is the most patient in the fashioning of greenstone!⁹⁵
Which amulets and which ear pendants equal those of Eki?

⁸⁷ I have chosen to translate Foley's "jade" as "greenstone", this being the more common word now.

⁸⁸ Akaroa the Magnanimous, who is referred to as insane, hunchbacked and lame. In fact the hunchback condition is unlikely at the time referred to, being of European origin (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, II, 102). Polack does refer to seeing one man who was afflicted with "a protuberance from a diseased spine", however (*New Zealand*, 1838, II, 273).

⁸⁹ Akaroa II.

⁹⁰ Polydactylism was not uncommon and often regarded as a sign of potential greatness in a boy. Te Rauparaha and both Tuhawaiki's uncle, Te Whakataupuka, and son, Kihau, were affected by it.

⁹¹ Akaroa III.

⁹² The ready Maori acceptance of virtually every European artifact was in marked contrast to the case in Australia, where the Aborigines showed little interest in any of the European articles offered them (Wallace, *The Lost Australia of François Péron*, 1984, p.49).

⁹³ "Since they have known Europeans, the use of the blanket alone has been a great destroyer of health and life" (Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 1878, p.165); "The European blanket became waterlogged, dirty, verminous in a way that the flax and skin garment did not" (Gluckman, *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860*, 1976, p.216). D'Urville commented on the fact that the Maori used the word para-iket to describe them—from the English (Dumont d'Urville, *New Zealand*, 1826-1827, 1950, p.129).

⁹⁴ "Eau de feu" is an example of Foley's use of an expression that was used in other colonial situations but not in New Zealand. His use of such words as eau de feu, piccaninny, papalagi, grigri etc shows a lack of concern for their geographic distribution.

⁹⁵ Richard Taylor writes that women of high class, as well as men, made greenstone ornaments (*Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, p.43).

Eki knows all the forms of tapu.
No man is more knowledgeable than she is and no woman wiser.⁹⁶

All the departed chiefs love Eki and all the living chiefs revere her.⁹⁷

Woe!

Woe to him who would come to insult Eki, in the land conquered by her father, her husband and her son.

By her father, her husband and her son who watch over her during the day and whom, at nighttime, she rejoins.
For Eki is, at the same time, both dead and alive.

Eki is the last of the Akaroas!”

A torrent of tears and terrible sobbing brought this discourse to an end.
Finally the unhappy woman threw herself down before a small fetish, a simple post but better carved than the others, in her humble palisade.

Legs folded beneath her, her face and chest to the ground and her hands on the nape of her neck, the unhappy Eki remained perfectly still.
One would have thought her dead if, from time to time, some measures of a plaintive and nasal chant had not indicated that she was praying.⁹⁸

My noble master, dismayed, kept a glacial silence and I, not knowing what to think and ready to weep, awaited with anxiety the outcome of this little drama.

Who could have foreseen it!

Eki, with an incredible impulse that only the changeability⁹⁹ of her savage nature and her unquestionable feminine superiority could explain, rose to her feet and gave me her hand.

I hastened to kiss it.¹⁰⁰

Then, with a smooth, pure voice, caressing me delightfully with her regard, she added:

“Child! Like Akaroa’s eyes, yours are blue.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Women did act as “tohungas”, or skilled and knowledgeable persons, but more particularly in fields that were more or less exclusively theirs, such as weaving. Foley here contrasts the (learned) knowledge of men with the (inherent) wisdom of women.

⁹⁷ The present tense here accurately conveys the early Maori concept. The dead were referred to and assumed to be still present in a way not compatible with European language or thought. The different languages, themselves, embody the different conceptions (Yaguello, *Catalogue des idées reçues sur la langue*, 1988, pp.72-3).

⁹⁸ In pre-European times, the Maori did not ‘pray’ to his *atua* as we understand the word: *karakia* can best be described as incantations (Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, I, 1976, p.308).

⁹⁹ It is possible that Foley was referring to a physical movement—standing up from such a position in a way not possible for Europeans unaccustomed to squatting on the ground. He believed that some native peoples, like children, possess “un éréthisme et une mobilité de nerfs excessifs” (*Étude à propos du choléra-morbus*, 1855, p.14).

¹⁰⁰ Not a Maori custom but possibly common enough between the Banks Peninsula Maori and the French of Foley’s time.

¹⁰¹ An example, perhaps, of the deliberate confusion that Foley makes between reality and fiction—his own eyes *were* blue (Dossier personnel, AE Foley, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes: CC⁷

Like Akaroa's words, yours are gentle.
 Like Akaroa's heart, yours is good.
 Like him, child, I love you and will love you always."

Drawing me to her, she put her forehead to my forehead, her nose to my nose, her lips to my lips, her face to my face and, rubbing and crushing my face, she kissed me in the manner of her country.¹⁰²

Exiting from this embrace, while I was still blinded by tears, mucus and slobber,¹⁰³ my noble master, fearing a new indiscretion, hastened to say, before I had time to even wipe myself clean:

"Child, the Polynesian kiss is not, as ours is, a graceful touch which has become almost frivolous and without consequence.

It is, on the contrary, a serious guarantee of affection and good faith, an inviolable commitment, a genuine social institution which tapus still regulate.¹⁰⁴

If the form it takes surprises you, you should be aware that in these regions feelings of desire are ordinarily so pale, so vague and so ephemeral¹⁰⁵ that the benefactors of these lands have fixed inviolable rules to transform them into feelings (perhaps into needs, even) that are irresistible: with only suffering and fatigue having the power to calm them."

The storm having been avoided I could at last wipe my face.

Pardon, my dear and good mentor, these perhaps overly-long details concerning the woman whose history my next letters will relate.

I ...

1098). At the time Eki is speaking of, few Maori would have been blue-eyed. Cruise, however, does speak of "fair" children and of "a few grown-up persons with red and sandy hair" in 1820 (*Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, 1957, p.208); and Dieffenbach, in New Zealand between 1839 and 1841, speaks of "many individuals with flaxen hair and blue eyes" (*Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, I, 38).

¹⁰² A stereotyped and inaccurate but not untypical description of the hongi. The hongi is performed in different ways by different groups today and this was probably the case in the 1840s, as well. The essential action is that of touching or pressing noses together and typical variations consist in whether this is done once or twice and whether it is done straight on or once on each side.

¹⁰³ An example of the incompatibility, nearly 170 years after Foley's time, existing between the different cultures. Today, still, the older people expect to see both tears and nasal mucus flowing at a tangi and someone might express their feelings as: "Ka tangi te ngakau, ka heke te roimata me te hupe mou". (My heart is crying, my tears and my nasal mucus are flowing).

¹⁰⁴ During a hongi, the breath or hau of those involved intermingled. The Maori believed that the hau constituted part of an individual's life essence and that this intermingling—as Foley says—had more significance than a simple courtesy (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.75).

¹⁰⁵ This refers to a belief of Foley's concerning the Polynesians of the tropics, some Australian Aborigines and penguins. He considers that the males are so indolent that, despite the females stimulating them in every way possible, they can scarcely find the energy to mate successfully. He speaks of "une journée presque entièrement consacrée à d'infructueuses tentatives de rapprochement sexuel" (*Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous*, 1870, p.60).

AKAROA THE MAGNANIMOUS¹⁰⁶ AND THE BEAUTIFUL TAIA¹⁰⁷

Banks Peninsula; Akaroa Harbour oriented N. and S., ten miles long by two or three wide. To the East, four reasonably large bays separated by very high hills: Akaroa's Bay, the Anglo-French Bay, the Germans' Bay and Robinson's Bay. To the West, four bays as well, but smaller: Lieutenant's Bay, Careening Bay, Tikao's Bay and Farm Bay. To the South, the entrance. To the North a bay cut in two by a long, narrow tongue of land rising steeply from the sea, running due South for a mile and with a very large and steep hill¹⁰⁸ at the end. Tikao's pa, in earlier times, was perched on the summit of this hill.¹⁰⁹

All around the harbour, three or sometimes four miles from the shoreline, the crests of mountains¹¹⁰ are to be seen on the skyline. At the foot of the rocks that make up these mountains there is an arid zone. Below this there is a belt, varying in width, of tough dry grasses or stunted ferns; lower still there is the forest of gigantic, age-old trees linked together by their inextricable nets of endless vines; descending again, shrubs and bushes; still descending, tall ferns and, lastly, on the sea shore and in marshy areas, toetoe and flax; in the dry areas, sheer cliff, shingle or sand.

Depending on the depth or shallowness of its humus and the area it covers, the mantle of soil which covers the hills extends or restricts and raises or lowers the luxuriant or scanty canopy of this diverse vegetation.

Dear and venerable Mentor,

Eki began to speak and told us the following story:

"The Akaroas have not always been leaders.

The head of this illustrious family, nothing more than one of Iotete's¹¹¹ warriors, formerly lived, as Iotete did, at the foot of the mountain which floats above healthful muds and which constantly smokes during the day and flames at night.¹¹²

His face (it is of Akaroa that Eki speaks) was perfectly handsome. But his body was deformed because it housed, at the same time, three spirits.¹¹³

Akaroa the Magnanimous was mad, hunch-backed and lame.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ The epithet "magnanime" links Akaroa 1 with the heroes of classical epic and in particular with great-souled Aeneas (*Aeneid* I, 259-60).

¹⁰⁷ "La belle Taia" in the original is another example of the Homeric epithets which Foley uses to convey the atmosphere he considered appropriate. See p.208, *supra*.

¹⁰⁸ Foley uses the word 'morne', rather than 'colline', which was often used in the nineteenth century to describe a non-French hill.

¹⁰⁹ "From the neck of the peninsula, Tara o kura (red ridge), the Onawe Pa stretched some 600 metres along the crest, stopping just short of the final hill at the southern tip of the peninsula, Te Panuihau" (Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula: Cradle of Canterbury*, 1990, p.181).

¹¹⁰ To New Zealanders these would be called hills, as opposed to the Southern Alps which are snow-covered mountains.

¹¹¹ Foley here uses the name of a Marquesan leader who, at the time, would have been known to French people with an interest in the Pacific (Faivre, *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique*, 1953, pp.468-70, 474-5).

¹¹² Foley would have seen the active volcano of White Island as he travelled between Akaroa and the Bay of Islands and he may have learnt about the North Island's thermal region from reading Hochstetter's book which was published in German in 1863 and in English in 1867 (*New Zealand. Its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History*, pp.389-435).

¹¹³ Tara of Kororareka told Kendall that the god of thunder was in his forehead, while Hongi and Okira told him that they were possessed with gods of the sea (Elder, *Marsden's Lieutenants*, 1934, p.138).

¹¹⁴ This head, thigh and back trichotomy coincides with Foley's belief in the three-fold nature of man: mental (head), active (thigh), and vegetative (back): "nous pouvons et devons vivre de trois manières

Thrice, then, was he tapu.
Thrice, then, was he honoured.¹¹⁵

Iotete had as wife Taia,¹¹⁶ a girl of high birth, beautiful but barren. Because of this shameful fault, her husband neglected her and her companions¹¹⁷ mocked her. Often, even, they insulted her and often also, because of this, she wept.

One day, when her tears were flowing copiously, Akaroa, moved by pity, approached her and said:

‘Of what use is it that Taia is beautiful?
She bears no child and her husband neglects her.
What does it serve Taia to be the first?
She bears no child and her companions mock her.
... It would be better, for her, to be the wife of Akaroa!’¹¹⁸

Indignant, Taia replied:

‘Give thanks to Maui¹¹⁹ who turns your spirit as he pleases and inspires your tongue with words as good, sometimes, as they are sometimes bad.
Give thanks to Maui for extending his protecting tapus over you.
If it were not for his having influenced you in this way, you would not be alive tomorrow.’

Akaroa went off, without uttering a single word.

Some time after that a messenger came to Iotete’s pa and said:

‘Te Rauparaha¹²⁰ desires tribute; let it be paid: if not ... war!’¹²¹

à la fois: Plastiquement, à la façon des végétaux [...] pendant le sommeil; Locomotivement, à l’instar des bêtes qui cherchent pâture [...]; mentalement, angéliquement, comme les génies, les saints de l’humanité” (*Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 135).

¹¹⁵ Madness (porangi), like illness, was generally seen by Maori in a negative light, since being possessed by a spirit was the result of infringing a tapu. Possession by a spirit could, however, be seen in a positive light in the case of a tohunga acting as a medium and entering into a trance. As we have seen, some physical deformities, such as polydactylism, were seen by Maori as marking a person out as special.

¹¹⁶ Possibly a contraction, by Foley, of the name Taiaroa. Taiaroa was a South Island chief that he would have seen and heard much of. The name “Taia” sounds both adequately Polynesian and feminine in any case.

¹¹⁷ Chiefs had several wives and Taia’s “companions” might have been Iotete’s other wives rather than her friends. The Akaroas are described as having only one wife each, but that would have been unusual and possibly a reflection of Foley’s personal feelings on the subject.

¹¹⁸ Adultery was often punished by the death of one or both parties, but chiefs and heroes obeyed custom only when it was expedient for them to do so. Maori stories, like those of most peoples, regularly have as their heroes those who have succeeded by, and despite, breaking rules and taboos.

¹¹⁹ Maui was the archetype of all the heroes who broke every rule and succeeded; as a demi-god he was amongst the most important figures to the Maori. Foley, however, by referring to him as if to a supreme god, elevates him to a position and a type of importance that he did not actually have.

¹²⁰ Another example of Foley’s using a real person’s name in a story. His spelling, “Téroupara”, has been normalised.

¹²¹ Vassal tribes did exist, but normally only after previous conquest. The victors would sometimes leave the conquered tribe to cultivate their land and to send tribute of food and slaves.

Iotete, coward and glutton; Iotete who never sucked fern-root,¹²² the precious milk of Maori courage;¹²³ Iotete promised to pay.¹²⁴

Learning of this unworthy action, Akaroa went off once more to find Taia and said to her:

‘What does it serve Taia to be beautiful? She bears no child and her husband neglects her.

What does it serve Taia to be the first? She bears no child and her companions mock her.

What does it serve Taia to be the wife of an Ariki; Iotete is going to pay tribute and women from afar, even, will mock her in their turn.

... It would be better for her to be the wife of Akaroa.’

Taia, insane with rage, rose up to strike him.

But he, tall, straight, lucid¹²⁵ and terrible before her, spoke again in an imposing voice:

‘It is courage that impregnates beauty; not fear!

Through you a son will be born to me, the pride of my race. Six toes on each foot; six fingers on each hand.

Thus great Maui desires it.’

And Taia, trembling, could only repeat in a low voice:

‘Through me a son will be born to you, the pride of your race. Six toes on each foot; six fingers on each hand!

Thus great Maui desires it.’

The following day Iotete died;¹²⁶ the dismayed Maori held a council; Akaroa became chief and Te Rauparaha’s messenger departed empty-handed.

It was war!

In Iotete’s pa, however, warriors were few in number. One by one, men of courage had abandoned this unworthy chief.¹²⁷ It was impossible to defend themselves and, better than anyone, Akaroa knew it.

¹²² The starchy rhizome of bracken fern, it was a basic food for the Maori, who called it Haumia, one of the sons (or grandsons) of Rangi and Papa. It is more normally spoken of as being chewed. Julien Crozet, Marion du Fresne’s second-in-command, wrote of it, however: “La Base de Leur nourriture est la racine de fougère [...] ils la Sucent alors en Jettent Les filaments” (Ollivier (trans), *Extracts from Journals relating to the Visit to New Zealand in May-June 1772 of the French Ships Mascarin and Marquis de Castries*, 1985, p.32).

¹²³ Elsewhere Foley wrote of it: “elle possède cette vertu précieuse, au dire des Mahouris, de donner force, courage et génie militaire à celui qui la mange” (*Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 245). “Some accounts contrast the peace-loving kumara, which needed a stable environment for its cultivation, and the war-like fernroot, a food used by armies on the move” (C Tremewan, *Traditional Stories from Southern New Zealand*, 2002, p.103).

¹²⁴ Any Maori, let alone a chief, who would not fight lost his status (R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, p.353).

¹²⁵ This is at odds with his previous and repeated portrayal as being “mad, hunch-backed and lame”.

¹²⁶ This may be a depiction of the vagaries of Fate as Foley saw them in his own life and that of his family. It may also be Foley’s way of avoiding having to depict civil war or revolution in a positive manner.

¹²⁷ A challenge and takeover would have been a more usual response to such a situation.

He took an extreme gamble; he repaired his canoes,¹²⁸ filled them with fern-root, despoiled the land around, burnt his huts, destroyed his fortifications, embarked his people and disappeared with the beautiful Taia.

While he remained hidden out at sea, small canoes, as far apart from each other as possible and carrying only a single man, watched the coast.

On the fifth day of this audacious feat of navigation,¹²⁹ Te Rauparaha's fleet, hugging the coastline, sailed past that of Akaroa. Immediately the latter rushed to the strait.¹³⁰

When he appeared at his enemy's pa, a frenzied terror seized all there.

The women, the children, the elderly, Te Rauparaha's warriors and even his friends surrendered.

Akaroa the Conqueror, Akaroa the Magnanimous killed no-one.¹³¹

He led Te Rauparaha's men and canoes towards the south and made his entry into the harbour which today bears his name, the very day when winds, waves and famine completed the destruction of his aggressor's fleet.¹³²

.....

Look!

Look! Akaroa the Victorious advances.

His craft sail towards the pa of Tikao.¹³³

Fear spreads over the whole harbour!

While his flotilla paddles, the warriors of the Magnanimous One adorn him for combat.

Maopo, the first amongst them, excels in this art. He is so skilled that every movement of a human body, painted and striped by him, is terrifying. Each new stance reveals a monster of new form and colour to the enemy.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Canoes were caulked along the joins and after a period out of water the caulking had to be repaired or replaced. Canoes, initially hollowed-out logs, were often made up of more than one such log for extra length and normally had boards placed along the top of the sides, as wash-boards or top-strakes, to add depth to them.

¹²⁹ This would have indeed been audacious. The Maori did use small, one-man canoes, but not normally on the open sea (Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, p.46).

¹³⁰ Kapiti Island, Te Rauparaha's home base, is in the Cook Strait area, some sixty kms north of the strait's narrowest point.

¹³¹ This is an extremely unlikely action by a Maori chief. "Public and private contentions are very frequent, and the chance of a good meal, among the southern natives, to this hour, induces them to fight whenever they have a decent excuse, and when that is not to be found, there is very little difficulty in forming one" (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, II, 56).

¹³² A further example of happy coincidence that Foley may have thought reflected the good luck that seems to follow some people.

¹³³ Tangatahara was, in fact, the chief at Onawe and Te Rauparaha the aggressor and victor, in a bloodier event than Foley accredits to Akaroa the Magnanimous! In the 1840s, however, Tikao—formerly a Ngati Toa prisoner—was one of the most important chiefs in Akaroa Harbour, living not far from Onawe.

¹³⁴ Men also used to paint their faces to look attractive to the opposite sex (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, I, 112). When they prepared for war, "Their bodies were completely naked with red, white and black stripes; their tousled hair was powdered with yellow ochre; their postures were weird and their grimaces frightening; a demoniacal appearance was the result" (Sinclair, *Laplace in New Zealand*,

For the battle, Akaroa wears nothing but his Ariki's cloak.
 Tufts of human hair, celebrated trophies, ornament his neck, wrists, waist and legs.¹³⁵
 Long multi-coloured feathers crown his proud head.

Akaroa knows how to assume inimitable stances and superhuman poses. At times, withdrawn into himself, he seems a puny child. At times, expanded to his full size, he appears an immense giant.

But, giant or dwarf, he is always more rapid than a bird.¹³⁶

Akaroa can roar out ferocious cries; hurl lightning bolts from his eyes; thunder atrocious insults and strike terrible blows.

Akaroa can hypnotize his enemy and, depending on what he wants, immobilise him with terror or put him to flight by fear alone.¹³⁷

He seldom has need to fight in order to triumph.

There is no ruse that Akaroa does not know. Marching to war he weighs them up in his memory.

His favourite weapon is a jade club.

Its appearance is that of two tongues of very different size, issuing from the same mouth but in opposite directions.¹³⁸

Fear this terrible instrument of death! Never has anyone been able to follow its rapid movements and never has it spared anyone.

Akaroa the Magnanimous advances. He is seated on a throne¹³⁹ in the middle of his long canoe. The beautiful Taia is at his feet.¹⁴⁰

1831, 1998, p.103; Tikao, *Tikao Talks*, 1990, p.147). As with compass directions, many of the European concepts of colour were foreign to the Maori. In fact they usually used local or well-known references to describe what they meant. "For instance, 'Kai te pouri te moana' drew attention to the dark colour of the sea at a given time, and so on" (Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.246).

¹³⁵ Tikao points out that: "Men going to fight painted themselves [...] when they stripped for the fray" and that: "In the old days those who were inclined to be dandified could wear wristlets and anklets, both being known as *tauri*" (*Tikao Talks*, 1990, pp.147, 144).

¹³⁶ An authentic Maori image and one that Foley continues to use. "People were often spoken of as birds, and the image was generally complimentary [...] A good singer or graceful speaker might be praised as 'like a bellbird pealing at daybreak' [he rite ki te kopara e ko nei i te ata]" (Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, pp.33-4).

¹³⁷ "If he succeeded [in arousing fear] half the victory was gained before the first blow" (R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, pp.352) "His tongue was thrust out to its utmost length; his eyes glared with the frenzy of a ruthless fiend; no horrible grimace was omitted that could strike terror into the enemy" (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, II, 123).

¹³⁸ Foley did, in fact, collect many weapons on his voyage but this is not a known Maori weapon—it was possibly something seen elsewhere. Polynesian adzes, throughout the Pacific, often had protruberances, acting as counterweights, opposing the blade (Joppien and Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, 1987, I, 158).

¹³⁹ The main canoe of a double canoe was decked, but not that of a single one (Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.287). There were double canoes used in New Zealand—"I can well remember two double war canoes [...] coming into Pigeon Bay" (Hay, *Reminiscences of Earliest Canterbury*, 1915, p.31), but "no platforms are made to surmount them, as is practised by the natives of the islands of Oceanica" (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, II, 22).

¹⁴⁰ Unlikely in a war canoe since women, as in European navies, were not permitted on board (whilst at sea in the case of European ships)—apart from as prisoners.

Just as one sees the young of the albatross, the seagull and the cormorant scurry along in their mother's wake, swimming as fast as they can to follow her; so the numerous canoes of his flotilla race against each other behind Akaroa's fine vessel.

A band of white, black and green feathers ornaments its raised wash-boards. Sixteen times the height of a man; that is its length. Blood-red is its colour.¹⁴¹

At the front its prow, a fretwork of noble tattoo designs, crowned with garlands of feathers as well as light pennons,¹⁴² advances boldly while its cut-water, sharper than the leaf of the toetoe,¹⁴³ cleaves the water which hastens to part before it and take flight.

This is because of the representation of the terrible god of war which lies extended along the length of its stem.

Oh! Fearsome Tu-Mata-Uenga! How your tongue, so monstrously protruding,¹⁴⁴ taunts the timid who take care to avoid combat; and how, above all, it taunts the bold who are vain enough to present themselves.

Akaroa, your favourite, has not forgotten to chisel your tutelary image on all the ornamentation of his flag-ship canoe.

His flag-ship canoe! Its afterdeck, rich in sculpture, a hundred times more than the beautiful prow, rises up in the air, noble, graceful, light and as transparent as a leaf reduced by the cold to its skeleton.¹⁴⁵

Long banderoles hang down behind it. The speed of this admirable craft drags them along, seemingly against their will, and their graceful curves alter with each change of direction.

Twice forty paddles set into motion this immense hull that a whole flotilla hastens to follow.

The excitement on board is extreme!

Never has more audacious chief led warriors more seething with ardour.

War chants, shouts, gestures, threats; all manner of incitements egg each sailor on.

All have undertaken to magnify their valour and to heighten their strength to match the exploits they have in mind!

The sea, perfectly calm, smiles on the great Akaroa and readily parts under his rapid prows.

¹⁴¹ A sacred colour, and only war canoes or waka taua would be painted red.

¹⁴² "Penom" in the original. "Two long streamers of feathers floated behind the carved stern-posts of the great war canoes. The upper one was a resting-place for the spirits of the winds. The lower one, which often trailed in the water, belonged to the spirits of the ocean" (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.138).

¹⁴³ The long, grass-like leaf of the toetoe has a very sharp and serrated edge.

¹⁴⁴ Mention was often made of the long, protruding tongue of the figurehead on a Maori war-canoe (Barratt, *Bellingshausen*, 1979, p.42; Dumont d'Urville, *New Zealand, 1826-1827*, 1950, p.224).

¹⁴⁵ Many examples of these prow and stern pieces are still to be seen in museums and many good illustrations are to be found (eg, Best, *The Maori Canoe*, 1976, pp.142-57). The European ships of the time had similarly intricate and expensive ornamentation of their afterdecks.

During the course of this triumphal procession the warriors of Tikao are to be seen coming down to the shore, milling about, gathering in groups and hurrying from one group to another.

Astonished, they wonder at the meaning of this imposing fleet. Where does it come from? Who is in command?¹⁴⁶ Not knowing the answers they lean over the water; sending their voices gliding over the calm sea, and question each other from one shore to the other.¹⁴⁷

Questions asked in vain! The name of Akaroa, chanted by his warriors, resounds in their ears from all sides but they do not recognise it; and this ignorance itself adds to their already considerable anxiety.

Women, children, old men and you warriors in your prime (who have imprudently deserted your redoubtable pa,)¹⁴⁸ run, run your fastest towards the head of the bay!¹⁴⁹ But no, stop, there is no more time! Akaroa's flotilla is too rapid; and his warriors redouble their ardour.

Already they are abreast of the high hill!¹⁵⁰

Already they pass it!

Already they reach the isthmus!

Already they disembark!

Wretched Tikao; what can you do with such a weak band of warriors?

Die! And may the news of your passing, made known by your own warriors, announce to all the victory of Akaroa.

Splendid triumphal feasts commence!¹⁵¹

As for you, recent bride of Tikao ... so pure ... so young ... so lovely ... and, above all, so near to becoming a mother! ... perish also!

Neither Taia nor the Magnanimous, himself thrice pregnant, can countenance a rival!"

At this extraordinary notion I could not restrain a laugh.

Eki, already animated, immediately flew into a rage.

But, for this first time, my noble master succeeded in calming her.

¹⁴⁶ The people of Onawe knew very well who was coming when they were attacked by Te Rauparaha. The attack is described by Stack ("Maori History. Banks Peninsula and its First Settlers", in *Akaroa and Banks Peninsula 1840-1940*, 1940, pp.42-6; and *The Sacking of Kaiapohia*, 1906, p.232) and Brailsford (*The Tattooed Land*, 1981, pp.185-7).

¹⁴⁷ The "Head-of-the-Bay", referred to below, is narrow enough to make this quite possible and it gives the impression of an actual observation.

¹⁴⁸ Well-designed and modern, the Onawe pa was the scene of one of the first musket battles in the South Island (Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land*, 1981, pp.185-6).

¹⁴⁹ To Onawe, and the pa fortifications. The bay on the eastern side of the isthmus is, in fact, named "Head-of-the-Bay."

¹⁵⁰ The peninsula rises to a high, rounded hill at the seaward end.

¹⁵¹ After Te Rauparaha's historical sack of the pa, the Barry's Bay flats, on the western side of the isthmus, were used for the cooking and subsequent consumption of a great many of the Kai Tahu, who had fled there for safety.

Resuming speaking, she said to me then, and quite sharply to begin with:

“Stranger! The madman, in his head; the hunchback, in his back; or the lame man, in his leg has a spirit which warps his thoughts, his stature or his walk; just as a pregnant woman has, in her belly, a child which swells her up and makes her unsteady.”

And, skipping over a part of what she had wanted to tell us, she added:

THE SAVAGE ORGY

“The meal following this conquest lasted five days and five nights. No-one was killed to eat. Only the few dead from the battle were served up at the feast.¹⁵²

In line with custom, the brain, the eyes, the hands and the feet of Tikao made up Akaroa’s portion.”¹⁵³

As she spoke, Eki stared hard at each of us with a sombre defiance. The face of my noble master remained impassive: but mine betrayed my thoughts.

Then, interrupting her own story, the poor woman, quite purple with anger, began to declaim:

“The customs of the Maori are wiser than strangers would like to believe! ... Slaves,¹⁵⁴ like taipos, eat human flesh out of greed! Arikis do so only to make their conquests secure ...¹⁵⁵

The spirit, the clear-sightedness, the strength and the swiftness of a defeated foe, when eaten, augment the spirit, the clear-sightedness, the strength and the swiftness of his victor ... and in no way harm his race.¹⁵⁶

This is why the infamous thief who goes around saying everywhere: ‘*I am a Tikao*’¹⁵⁷ can never attain or even understand ...

¹⁵² Not the case in reality—as European observers noted, most were killed and as many as possible eaten.

¹⁵³ Eating the brain, as a delicacy, is well documented and eating the eyes has a significance dealt with later.

¹⁵⁴ Several early European visitors pointed out the lack of a middle class in New Zealand. Marsden also spoke of Hongi’s kindness in sparing the lives of Te Hinaki’s friends and the children of some chiefs—after having said that “Such children of the common people whose mothers were killed in the action were put to death” (*The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, pp.118, 358).

¹⁵⁵ The Maori ate many more slaves than hardened warriors killed in battle. They certainly acted as Eki says, and possibly for those reasons, but not for those reasons alone.

¹⁵⁶ This was a widely held, but mistaken, belief among European commentators in the nineteenth century. For varied interpretations, see Sinclair, *Laplace in New Zealand, 1831*, 1998, p.33; Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 128-9; Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand*, 1939, pp.43-4. See pp.301-2, *supra*.

¹⁵⁷ It was not uncommon for the Maori to take the name of other, more prestigious people (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 241), but here, at a time when patronyms were only

May he never have a child ... and may it above all happen ... that his own daughters ... in the darkness of the night ... strangle him with their own hands ...and eat his heart!"

With these words, our old friend, obviously maddened by hatred, took herself off as swiftly as possible; to hide from us her apprehensions and, more importantly still, the charms, exorcisms, spells and other cabalistic formulas or procedures which she began to direct against the new chief of the bay.¹⁵⁸

Taking advantage of the lull,¹⁵⁹ my noble master then said to me:

"My dear child, the deeds and gestures, the habits and customs, the superstitions and prejudices of the Maori shocked me, at first, no less than they do you. But I have gradually grown to understand them; and, just as gradually, I have grown to almost admire them.

Do not be in a hurry to criticise their errors and laugh at them.

Compare them, rather, with the practices and concepts, very often bizarre in the extreme, of our barbarous ancestors, Franks or Gauls;¹⁶⁰ and quickly enough you will have the good fortune to contemplate, certainly not the least cruel but, equally certainly, the most interesting spectacle to be seen: that of man led, by the inexorable chain of events, to cast off, one by one, both from his land and from his own person, the innumerable attributes of his initial savagery.¹⁶¹

But Eki is returning: be gentle with her and be careful not to interrupt her."

Indeed, our elderly hostess, obsessed by her too cruel and too numerous memories, took her place once more between us and soon eased and gave relief to both her heart and head as she intoned that which follows:

"Akaroa, what has become of your prudence and wisdom, your thirst for glory and for combat?

You prolong your triumphal feasts beyond measure and disorder enters into your camp!

Your warriors are now abandoning the fern root, which is admittedly meagre, but which lasts and is indestructible, to gorge themselves with the fat-laden flesh of the penguin,¹⁶² awkward of gait and always prepared to flee.

just starting to appear among the Maori, this presumably refers to a descendant of the chief that Akaroa I had killed, while being, on another level, an acknowledgement of the existence of a historical Tikao whose name Foley is using in his fiction.

¹⁵⁸ In fact, the historical Hoani Tikao, although with connections to Banks Peninsula, was from Kaiapoi and moved to the peninsula after Te Rauparaha's sack of the Kaiapoi pa. He did not wish to stay on the northern half of the peninsula, under Iwikau, and moved to Ohae, in Tikao Bay. His wife, Katari, had local connections, which justified this.

¹⁵⁹ In the French text, Foley has "embellie"—one of the slightly unusual terms he uses which derive from his time in the navy.

¹⁶⁰ It was Foley's belief that humanity was essentially one, and on the same path towards perfection, albeit at different stages.

¹⁶¹ This is what Foley, as a Positivist, believed should and would happen—and what, of course, *did* happen. Foley believed that this process took place as part of both individual development and of humanity as a whole.

¹⁶² Foley may very well have seen the Maori eating penguins during his time in Akaroa—they are still common enough there—but it is unlikely that they would have done so in this way, after a victorious battle.

Take care lest, by delighting in the flesh of the penguin, they come to resemble it.¹⁶³

See!

They are full up to their gills.

Their eyes are red and half-closed.

Reduced to something less than human by the impossible task of digestion, they can scarcely breathe, they moan and groan vilely and sprawl wantonly in their accumulated filth.

This is as the dolphins and the monstrous whales do when they strand on the beach. Their enormous stomachs suffocate them. Their own weight crushes them. They evacuate from both ends and perish, drowned in their excrement.¹⁶⁴

In these men so forgetful of sobriety, that mother of strength and sister of prudence; in these brutes who have just devoured in one day that which would have nourished them for forty,¹⁶⁵ who could have recognised the agile and vigorous companions of Akaroa the Magnanimous?

‘Akaroa, awake!

Leave your mysterious abode.

Abandon your bed of delights.

It is in full daylight that glory shines.

Come; your presence is necessary.

Pride is blinding those of your warriors not already immobilised by debauch.

Glutted and whipped into a fury by their own self-praise, at any moment they will begin fighting each other.

Appear! Or boastfulness will harm your men a hundred times more than gluttony has.

Appear! He who commands men should not be like the cowardly Iotete and languish in the arms of a woman.

Our timidity eats away at your courage. Our weakness eats up your strength.

And you, Taia!

Taia, so beautiful in your nakedness! Taia, so graceful in lascivious dance!¹⁶⁶ Taia, ... so knowing in voluptuous love-making ... restore your husband to himself.

¹⁶³ Elsewhere Foley compares penguins with “le dernier des hommes” for the way they just sit about after eating their fill (*Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 144-5).

¹⁶⁴ This would not be a normal Maori attitude. Beached whales were a prized source of food and would have been referred to in positive terms. Dead chiefs might be referred to as beached whales to emphasise their importance (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.143) and a whakatauki (proverb) contrasts labourers with chiefs by calling the latter whales in the way a European writer might use the word “lion”: “Kotahi te taha mahimahi, kotahi te taha paraoa.”

¹⁶⁵ This is normal behaviour at a feast or hakari, but, although a common enough European opinion, an unlikely comment from a Maori woman.

¹⁶⁶ The missionaries found the dances of the women objectionable. This was at a time when the waltz, too, was regarded by many as scandalously lascivious, however, and the Maori haka were often more free than is acceptable even today (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 68). Here, however, Eki is being noticeably positive, seeing nudity as beautiful and lascivious dancing as graceful. This is a good example of Foley’s success in placing himself inside a Maori woman’s head.

Your ardours will never inflame the blood of Akaroa as much as the violent struggles of war.

Maori chiefs have even more need of hate than of love!’

Thus spoke several warriors, not seeing their chief appear.

Thus should I have spoken myself; had I then known how to speak.

Well then! Like all of them, I should have been mistaken.

While his men succumbed to their grossest instincts, Akaroa, (stretched at full length on the ground, his body between the legs of Maopo, his head on the stomach of that valiant hunter and his face in the powerful hands), Akaroa the Magnanimous thinks only of new deeds of prowess; while he is being tattooed.

A scribe, versed in the hieroglyphs of glory, carefully traces the gracious curves of victory on to his marvellous face.

Point by point he drives the sharpened tooth of a dolphin¹⁶⁷ into the quivering flesh; turns it, turns it again ... so often! that finally (red and furious) blood rushes forth. As soon as it appears it is sealed off; it is stanchd with lint; and the blue¹⁶⁸ ink of nobility enters in its place.

Its lines are indelible, like the valour it injects!

To calm the ardour it excites, a bard sings of Akaroa’s mighty deeds.¹⁶⁹

A wasted effort. The tooth which bites again and again only aggravates his rage further.

Superfluous verses! All of the battles that they recall seem to him little more than children’s games; so terrible are those he plans.

Bards and scribes, to whom Maui¹⁷⁰ has bequeathed the art of perpetuating glory in poems and symbols; rhapsodists and heralds who, throughout time, have been protected by his tapus; you, above all, who are engraving on the face of the Magnanimous the designs which formerly adorned the Iotetes, the Te Rauparahas and the Tikaos, be prudent in your office!

Confine into a small space these armorial bearings which he has so quickly earned.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ This is unlikely. A serrated shark’s tooth is a possibility, but in general birds’ bones were used. They were fitted with a small handle and in a form that could be described as being like a very small garden hoe or rake: the points of the head being tapped into the skin (Craik, *The New Zealanders*, 1830, p.136; *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.171).

¹⁶⁸ In fact the pre-European Maori rarely used adjectives of colour in their descriptions: “My informants agreed [...] that they had never heard the older generation give any name to the blue caused by tattooing, the green of trees, or the blue of ocean or sky” (Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.62).

¹⁶⁹ Songs were indeed sung at such times, but more to soothe than to excite. Often a woman would sing so that male pride would help the (male) patient endure the pain better (R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, p.152).

¹⁷⁰ Maui is not usually credited with introducing tattooing to the Maori except in one Takitimu source (Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, II, 1982, p.361).

¹⁷¹ This account of tattooing seems perfectly accurate and tattooing was the sign of a warrior: “L’on Serait ainsi porté à croire que ces marques sont à leurs yeux ce que sont les Chevrans parmi nos Soldats” (Ollivier (trans), *Extracts from New Zealand Journals Written on Ships under the Command of d’Entrecasteaux and Duperrey*, 1986, p.96). Slaves were only tattooed so that they could be killed and their preserved heads sold to Europeans as trophies.

The glory of Akaroa commences.¹⁷²

His mighty deeds must surely surpass those of the lines of Iotete, Te Rauparaha and Tikao combined.

Reserve at least half of his noble face for the tattoos he wishes to earn in the future.¹⁷³

A chief, deprived of his splendour, becomes a mortal enemy. This one is thrice tapu. Fear his just anger. Nothing could protect you from it.

Why do you smile at my counsels? They are too late! Your work is done and you have nothing more to fear.

Then, tremble!

Tremble! For you have had the imprudence to place, at the same time, three tokens of nobility on a face already noble: to place three ambitions in a head already ambitious; to pour three portions of martial ardour into a blood already too boiling; at the risk of setting all alight!

Tremble! For his head is swelling; for his face grows crimson; for his whole body seems ready to explode like a volcano; for everything about him boils and shudders.¹⁷⁴

If he should die! His faithful followers would avenge him immediately.

O welcoming spirits (of his head, his thigh and his back) who torment (in his reason, his gait and his majesty) Akaroa the Magnanimous; help him in this terrible combat where his soul must embody three further and hostile souls at the one time; since only you can help him in this struggle he wages within himself.

And you, beautiful Taia, who can do nothing but moan or lament over the body of your noble spouse; let your moans and tears at least serve to calm his pains.

Approach your fresh and perfumed lips to his face; blow your sweet breath over him; pour torrents of tears over him, that, drowned by the tears or wafted away by your breath, his sufferings, at last, cease to torture him.

Thus she did, for five days.

On the sixth, Akaroa arose and returned to his followers.

At once, all run up.

At once, all look.

¹⁷² Tama-nui-a-Raki's wife ran off with another man because he was so ugly. He decided to get tattooed and thus become beautiful (Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, 1995, p.175). Shortland refers to the tattoo as "a mark of manhood, and a fashionable mode of adornment, by which the young men seek to gain the good graces of the young women" (Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, 1851, pp.16-7).

¹⁷³ Tattooing was not done all at once, both because of the pain factor and, as here, so as to leave room to add to the design. This latter does not, presumably, apply to symmetrical designs. Meryon's portrait of Tikao shows him with a half-face tattoo, called *moko-taha-tahi* or *kawe-tahi* (Tikao, *Tikao Talks*, 1990, p.146).

¹⁷⁴ A not unreasonable description—both Taylor (*Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, p.320) and Gluckman (*Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860*, 1976, p.142) refer to the swelling of the face.

At once, filled with wonder by this admirable, half black and half white face, all stand immobile, mouths agape and minds blank; unable to acclaim their chief.

Have you seen small kaka¹⁷⁵ when, scarcely feathered, they first contemplate taking flight?

Courage pushes them to the edge of the hole where they were hatched; but prudence keeps them there. Then they open their eyes wide; unfold their little wings; and stop. The outside seems beautiful but terrible to them: everything in their attitude expresses fear and delight.¹⁷⁶

The effect that Akaroa makes on his followers is no less.

He sees that, and, delighted in his pride, is happy!

Secretly then, he thanks the terrible god of war who has made him so handsome.¹⁷⁷ Secretly again, he pledges new battles to him: and, secretly also, he promises a magnificent gift to the skilful engravers of Maori heraldry.¹⁷⁸

More familiar than their new companions of arms, however, the children¹⁷⁹ of the therapeutic muds come and go around him: plunge their fingers into his luxuriant hair; move his head about in every direction; and finally persuade themselves that these two cheeks, so dissimilar, do, in fact, belong to that one head.¹⁸⁰

Akaroa allows himself a moment for their childish experiments. He then resumes his progress through his camp.

Numerous vestiges and ignoble consequences of this prolonged orgy almost shock his sight, but he simulates unawareness.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ “Nestor” in the original. The South Island kaka is *Nestor meridionalis meridionalis*. Jules Verne describes it as a bird “que les naturels ont surnommé le ‘Nestor méridional’” (Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, 1997, p.707) without commenting on why the Maori chose to use a European name for it.

¹⁷⁶ Foley may well have witnessed this quite common behaviour of adolescent birds and it would seem, then, that kaka not only inhabited Banks Peninsula but were common enough to be remarked on like this, without further explanation.

¹⁷⁷ By becoming tattooed. An untattooed man might be despised or even taken for a woman (Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, 1957, p.181; *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.160).

¹⁷⁸ “Heraldry” is hardly what a Maori woman would have said and an example of Foley not keeping to Eki’s perspective.

¹⁷⁹ Here, as later when he speaks of “sons of the soil” and “children of the bay”, Foley is speaking of grown warriors.

¹⁸⁰ This action indicates that the tattoo in question was like Tikao’s, with the face divided vertically, but it is difficult to imagine that Foley ever saw anyone treating anyone’s head, and more particularly a chief’s head, like this. Heads were regarded as the most tapu parts of the body. It is possible that Foley, having used the image of the nestlings and with the “children of the muds” reference, forgot that he was speaking of adult men and warriors. Even children, in real life, would not have dared handle a chief’s head in such a way.

¹⁸¹ The Maori, and Maori chiefs in particular, ate only after their guests had eaten. A proverb, “He kotuku kai whakaata”—“a white heron that feeds upon its reflection” refers to this as admirable behaviour (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.209).

He feigns, as well, to accept as his own those of Tikao's warriors who had joined his party during his absence; he even, deliberately making the mistake, addresses them with kindly words.

None, better than he, knows the art of conquering men by violence or by pleasure.

None, better than he, knows the art of attracting them by flattery.

None, better than he, knows the art of retaining them with promises.

His gracious words reassure the sons of that soil which he whom the great Maui conquered¹⁸² shakes each springtime. Immediately they signal to their brothers, until that moment still defensive: and immediately their last fears dissipate.

Then the mountain crests shed the human forms that had been roaming there.

Then those warriors of Tikao's that fear had still kept away returned through the undergrowth to their huts.

Then, from under the foliage, and from all sides rang out both shouts of joy and cries to rally:

Hasten, children of that bay which henceforth the name of Akaroa will adorn:¹⁸³ come and share with your new friends the only day of celebration remaining, come.

The quivering flesh of your relatives will not distress your eyes. The only human remains soiling the site of victory are the bones of Tikao.

No friendly hand will place them in the tomb.¹⁸⁴

The chief who lacks prudence betrays the confidence of his followers.¹⁸⁵ He is like the patu which, breaking, wounds the hand that brandishes it.

No sepulchre is owed to the remains of an untrustworthy weapon.

Come: already the sun is sinking, and tomorrow the labours of war begin again!

Akaroa, desirous to conquer the whole coast, will tomorrow lead you against the cruel inhabitants of the south.

You will see distant lands, where the days, during the summer, are of excessive length; where the nights, during the winter, seem endless; where the sea and the winds, in permanent fury,¹⁸⁶ bring to an end the proud march of our Maori lands.¹⁸⁷

In your absence Maopo, that bold hunter, will extend the powerful protection of the great Akaroa over your wives, children and old people who are too fearful or too weak to fight.

¹⁸² This refers to the creation of Banks Peninsula, in a story which he relates later.

¹⁸³ Since "Akaroa" means "long harbour", as does Whangaroa in the North Island, it is more likely that the bay would have been already named.

¹⁸⁴ Maori were careful to bury or conceal the bodies of their dead so that enemies could not desecrate them.

¹⁸⁵ An observation more accurate in Maori terms, even, than European. Te Maiharanui, lured onto a European ship by Te Rauparaha, was considered at fault, himself, for having allowed himself to be tricked. A tangi for the warrior Te Momo typically blames him for his own death: "It serves you right to die! You would rush to the forefront!" (Ngata, *Nga Moteatea*, I, 1959, p.139).

¹⁸⁶ The *Rhin* came from Hobart via Foveaux Strait—of which this is not an unreasonable description.

¹⁸⁷ The Maori, before the advent of the Europeans, would never have spoken of "Maori lands".

What more noble Ariki could have been chosen?"

My eyes saw the numerous canoes of this grand and powerful flotilla disappear, one by one, behind the high hills which guard the entrance of the bay; whilst my attentive ears listened to the resounding farewells called out to it.

But, less experienced than my eyes, my ears have not engraved in my memory (as my eyes did for the image) the enthusiastic chants which saluted its happy departure.

My first complete memory goes no further back than to that terrible night when my noble husband had his birth.

Night as terrible as the end of his life!

Night as sad, alas, as the end of mine."

.....

Eki, weeping, ceased speaking.

I, then, must cease writing.

THE JEALOUSY OF MAUI

At sea, a little north of East Cape, abeam of the sulphurous marshes. The shore is low-lying, and the sun has not yet dissipated the mist covering it. Only the summit is seen of the volcano,¹⁸⁸ at the foot of which once lay the pa of Iotete. The wind is so slight that its plume of smoke rises vertically. And so it is, on land as at sea, flat calm.¹⁸⁹

Dear and kind Mentor,

I shall take advantage of our being becalmed, to continue the story of Eki.

Do not forget that it is she who is speaking.¹⁹⁰

"When Maui defended his islands, his wife and his numerous children against the fearsome spirit¹⁹¹ that wished to devour them; when his thundering voice uttered his formidable war cry; when his vigorous arm hurled enormous boulders and blazing trees at this giant enemy: fire, water and wind, earth, sea and sky, bewildered and confused, cried out and clashed together. Rushing about in terror and making a fearful tumult, they caused a horrendous disaster.

Maui, triumphant, called to his people:

¹⁸⁸ The geographic reference suggests that this is Whakaari, or White Island, of which the "sulphurous" description indicates that Foley may well have sailed close to it or even landed there.

¹⁸⁹ Throughout the work Foley uses nautical terms such as, here, "calme plat".

¹⁹⁰ The repeated drawing of the reader's attention to when it is Eki who is speaking suggests that the author wants to emphasize the differences in style. The contrasts in her nature that were pointed out earlier are being depicted in her speech.

¹⁹¹ Following the authentically Maori and oral story-telling tradition, no mention need be made of who this spirit is or why it would want to act in such a way. This paragraph refers to a story that will be recounted later.

“Here is the fire with which I have conquered! I give it to you and wish it to be the eternal memorial of my brilliant victory.”¹⁹²

Fire is a powerful friend! It will aid you in your endeavours, will protect you from the cold, will preserve you from the shadows ... and from their perfidious children.

It is a sure and faithful Taio!¹⁹³ After death it is fire that guides the souls of valorous men to the radiant abode of the stars.¹⁹⁴

Never let it die.”

Maui is jealous of his glory.

Maui wants no other rival.

Maui, when a hero's birth is near, reminds men of his great combat.

So it was, the fearful night when my beloved came into the world.

Fearful night! Terrifying morning.

Day appeared, to reveal in Iotete's former pa nothing but an immense scene of desolation.¹⁹⁵

Huts, plants and men were strewn over the ground on all sides. Everywhere lay the dead and dying! Everywhere were terror and tears!

The village wept over its huts, scarcely rebuilt to be destroyed again; the Maori wept over their brothers, killed by the odious sons of the night; the bodies bewailed their souls, cast by those sons, without hope of return, into the gulf of obscurity.

The plain bewailed its flattened ferns, broken and uprooted; the mountain its high forests; the forests their enormous trees; the trees their ruined branches; the branches their green and firm leaves; and the limp leaves their beautiful freshness and the firmness of their previous form.

Thus each man and thus each being wept over their kin ... their friends.

Seeing this countryside in tears, rolling the (alas, too numerous) victims of Maui's jealousy down ravine after ravine to the sea, you would have thought that this was the earth on that day when, tearing it from the bosom of the sea, this universal father of the Maori spread it out to dry in the burning rays of the sun.¹⁹⁶

Its plants, limp and water-soaked were spread out on the greenish soil like an immense head of hair. Of the unfortunate offspring of the deep, some, crushed under the mesh of the forest they inhabited, perished—gasping in the sun, whilst others,

¹⁹² In Grey's and other versions of the myth, Maui gains fire for mankind by tricking his grandmother, Mahuika (who is often seen, in European terms, as the goddess of fire), into giving it to him.

¹⁹³ One of the words, current at the time amongst the Europeans, which was assumed to be used or understood by the Maori. “Taio” meant “friend” and was used more specifically to refer to a native intermediary between the natives of a given place and the Europeans (Maynard and Dumas, *The Whalers*, 1937, p.188; Lamb et al., *Exploration and Exchange*, 2000, p.106).

¹⁹⁴ Eki later says that it is the moas that will take her soul up to the stars.

¹⁹⁵ This scene is very like what he writes elsewhere of South American volcanoes which “déterminent des éboulements considérables; et précipitent, au fond de la mer, tout ce qui n'est pas suffisamment dur” (Foleÿ, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 32).

¹⁹⁶ A reference to Maui's fishing up of Te Ika a Maui, or the North Island. In this case it is certain that Foleÿ knew of the story since he translated it from Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (Foleÿ, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 261).

more to be pitied, crushed by furious torrents, eventually gained the sea but only in tatters and devoid of life.¹⁹⁷

All those Maori who have seen ... and all those, also, who will learn of the terrifying cataclysm where our brothers were treated as fish, will never forget Maui.

Never will they forget his glory.

Never will they forget his name.

Never, above all, will they dare to compare with him any man; however great he might appear, were it even an Akaroa!

Maui surpasses all his children, by his strength and his jealousy, just as fire, his living symbol, surpasses, by its pure brilliance, the most beautiful of all tattoos.

.....

The morning after this frightful night my mother went to take food to Taia and, on the way, saw her crouched on the banks of a stream.¹⁹⁸

Her body, as white as the moon when it watches down on us in the middle of the day,¹⁹⁹ gleamed in all its nakedness amongst the brownish bodies that the deluge had rolled there, just as, standing out amongst the ruined and partly mud-covered huts, the tabooed birth hut still blazed.

The noble wife of the Magnanimous, alone and suffering, lacking firewood but still faithful to Maui, had set fire to it herself;²⁰⁰ that he might protect her child ... and the efforts of the storm and the wicked sons of the shadows had not been able to harm either her or her son.

As closely as that space which must separate the healthy from those tabooed by harm allowed,²⁰¹ my mother approached Taia. But she who had just given birth was so weak that she could scarcely be heard speaking.

“Ea,” murmured her frail voice, as soft and slow as an evening breeze, “take my beautiful child to his father ... let his name be Akaroa! ... if he were to be named Maui, Maui, himself, would slay him immediately!²⁰² ... His jealousy is insatiable! ...

¹⁹⁷ This whole paragraph continues the metaphor describing the land that Maui had just fished up from the sea.

¹⁹⁸ It is unlikely that a woman of Taia's position would be giving birth alone in normal times, but many women did (Tregear, *The Maori Race*, 1904, p.41).

¹⁹⁹ Early Europeans who came to New Zealand expecting to find the “noble savage” made a point of noting that the Maori were no darker than the average southern Frenchman or Italian (Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 1878, p.169; Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, 1966, p.57; Savage, *Some Account of New Zealand*, 1807, p.16, etc).

²⁰⁰ “When a native falls ill, or a woman is about to bear a child, a small hut is built especially, a few fathoms away from the other houses; it is set fire to when it is no longer occupied” (McNab, *Murihiku*, 1909, p.325; see also Best, *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*, 1975, p.21).

²⁰¹ Before European contact the Maori believed that all sickness and misfortune came from a breaking of tapu, of some sort, and/or by incurring the displeasure of some spirit or atua. They tended to keep their distance from those who had done this.

²⁰² This is not an accurate representation of Maori thinking. Many Maori had—and have, today—such names. Rangi, itself, is even more common.

Sacrifice many slaves to him²⁰³ ... The gods do not protect Arikis less cruel than themselves!’

Then (beautiful and proud for the last time) she handed my mother her son whom she had carefully wrapped in her own cloak and said, seeing her hesitate to take him:

“Come ... do not be afraid ... he is perfectly pure ... I have taken care to wash him well ... and moreover ... he is tabooed!”

Saying this, as her strength left her, she quickly placed the child on the ground; rolled over several times in order not to soil him and lost, along with her life, her impurities.²⁰⁴

Ea then followed in every detail the words of the dying Taia.

Akaroa the Magnanimous (without saying a word, without making a sign) received the child that he had announced; counted several times with his eyes the twenty-four fingers and toes that he had; and moved away ... more tormented than ever by his three spirits.

When a formidable chief insults the proudest of his warriors, and the latter is unable to avenge himself, that warrior will be seen, concealing his hate, taking himself off in a sombre silence.

Leaving his son, this is how Akaroa the Magnanimous appeared.

The very day of this memorable birth he resumed his conquering expeditions.

Not a single sacrifice took place.

My father and mother interred²⁰⁵ the body of the beautiful Taia; and her beautiful child took my place at the maternal breast.”²⁰⁶

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE SIX-FINGERED CHIEF

Still a flat calm.

Translation of some of the words I am going to use: Ariki, chief: Atua, ghost, spirit, god: Pikopo,²⁰⁷ Christian priest: Papalangi, foreigner, dropped from the sky: Patu, club: Tokotoko, spear:²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Slaves *were* killed as a sacrifice, of course, but since they would, in any case, have constituted a large portion of the feast or hakari following the birth of a chief's son, the idea of sacrifice or dedication to a god, alone, may be misleading.

²⁰⁴ An example, perhaps, of similar contemporary Maori and European attitudes to childbirth and to menstruation. It is unlikely that “impurities” here refers to anything other than blood and afterbirth. Foley speaks of “periodic soiling” later, as a reason for the unworthiness of women to preserve sacred knowledge.

²⁰⁵ There were many methods of disposal of the dead, but interment would have been unusual.

²⁰⁶ Children were usually nursed, as Foley notes in the next chapter, long enough for a girl as old as Eki was to have remembered this and it was not uncommon for nursing mothers to give priority to the child of a chief (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2nd ed., 1870, p.352).

²⁰⁷ A transliteration of “episcopus” and used specifically to describe a Catholic priest. Dieffenbach gives this as the explanation by Bishop Pompallier, the Catholic bishop of New Zealand, but notes that the Protestant missionaries say it means piki-po, or always bowing, from *piki*-bend and *po*-night (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, I, 369-70).

²⁰⁸ In the original “Patou-Patou” and “Toco-toco” are used.

Piccaninny, little toddler. The Maori child suckles until he is three, four or five years old, almost as long as he likes. I have seen them leave off smoking a pipe,²⁰⁹ or playing, to go and take the breast.

Dear and kind Mentor,

I take up Eki's tale once more; still leaving the telling of it to her.

"The father increased in glory; the son in strength and malice."²¹⁰

Even before being able to bite he gripped my mother when he was suckling, making her shed tears. When his teeth came through, he did still worse.
Oh, how I remember it!

One day we were alone; he was crying, I was upset ... what was I to do?

Half in imitation of my mother and half in play I offer my little breast to him. His gluttonous mouth takes hold of it, cuts it: and sucks my blood.
I am frightened. I cry out. No-one replies ... all becomes a blur.

We are found later, one on top of the other; he is snoring and I am almost dead.

His first movements were to fight.
His first cries were to command.

When he was not even a Piccaninny, he would cry out to me: 'Eki, Eki! On your knees, Eki! ... fight!'
And running, waving his arms about, tripping, and stumbling over both his steps and the words of his war dance and war song; he would fling himself furiously at me.
Already his tricks were clever. Very often he hurt me.

When his mouth changed its teeth, as birds change their feathers, I had to join with him against the big and strong children.

Soon afterwards the idea occurred to him to attack grown men.
He begged me, pleaded with me; beat me and beat me again to help him. In vain.

Without knowing of them yet, I already sensed acts of violence even more odious than those of war.

²⁰⁹ D'Urville (Dunmore, "The First Contacts", in Dunmore (ed), *The French and the Maori*, 1992, p.21) and many others very early on foresaw the influence that tobacco would have on the Maori. Foley's comment appears to accept the situation as unremarkable in reference to the smoking and makes the same comment in another work: "Que de petits bambins j'ai vus, là-bas, passer de la pipe au sein maternel et du sein maternel à la pipe" (Foley, *Le Choléra chez les autres et chez nous*, 1870, p.51).

²¹⁰ Children, boys in particular and chiefs' sons even more particularly, were given a great deal of licence and the mothers, often slaves, were forbidden to check them. In Maori society it was considered that men, and especially chiefs, as future fighters, representatives and defenders of the tribe, should be as bold and fearless as possible (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, I, 374; Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970, p.241; *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.478).

Without my help, he allied himself to Tamakeke,²¹¹ a sturdy boy, but very cowardly. To persuade him to fight, my little beloved would rant at him for days on end. Sometimes, even, he would beat him.

Tamakeke, however, made light of all his pain. He was a rogue but cowardly by nature, with a robust but sluggish body, he loved but one thing: to eat.

To see them, the one following the other, in search of adventure, you would have laughed.

The infant chief, puny and petulant, with fiery eyes and foaming mouth, marched in front, head high. His tongue, poking out as far as possible, challenged and provoked everyone.²¹²

His warrior, quite the opposite, heavy and too fat although scarcely a man yet, followed him expressionlessly and with eyes downcast; without a word.

An agile and cunning pilot-fish; a slow, cowardly and greedy shark ... that is the picture they made.²¹³

Behaving in this way my beloved puffed himself up with pride and courage; and made himself both feared and esteemed.

Never was there a complaint from him; not even to my father, who adored him.

Should he receive a bad blow, it was to me that he came to weep, to rage, to curse and to brood over his vengeance. These thoughts of vengeance disappeared with his tears.

Nothing could calm his extraordinary energy.

Less and less beaten, but fighting more and more, he was soon a young man.

Then he disappeared for six days.

On the seventh day he returned; face unrecognisable, body blackened and bruised by blows, limping and scarcely able to drag himself along: the head of a moà in his hands!

These aggressive, inflexible, even blood-thirsty virtues; these qualities so indispensable to a leader of cruel warriors, terrified his aging father.²¹⁴

So it was that, jealous of his son, he took care to keep him from the battlefield.

So it was also, that, jealous of his father, the son went off (the poor young man!) frenziedly repeating everywhere, shedding tears of blood, 'I, also, hunger for noble flesh!'

²¹¹ The original has "Toma-Kéké", but a Tamakeke is recorded in Shortland's census in 1844 as living at Wainui, on Banks Peninsula.

²¹² As a rather standard gesture of defiance which, although not used by Europeans in adulthood, was used by Maori warriors in earnest.

²¹³ Eki is not being kind in her judgement of her future husband. Although it is Eki who uses it here to express and undermine Maori male values (aggression and cunning), Foley uses the same image to connote the same moral qualities in another work: "La mer a ses fauves ignobles [...] Tels, entre mille, est le requin, vorace et paresseux, qui maraude tout à son aise [...] avec son ami pilote" (Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 26).

²¹⁴ A most unlikely reaction in reality since, as Foley himself says earlier, these were indeed the qualities needed by a chief and a father would want his son to succeed him.

Unfortunately, these just complaints were not the only words he uttered, and, too often, thrusting all prudence aside he would cry:

‘My father’s strength is growing less; mine is growing more ... his courage is dying out; mine is gathering fire ... his Maori²¹⁵ no longer fear him; whereas I make them tremble!

He is no longer worthy to command!

Let him hand his power over to me; and not oblige me to take it!

It is up to youth, strong and courageous, to protect feeble and timid old age.’

These thoughtless words flew from mouth to mouth, and perched in ear after ear. Poisonous tongues guided them to the old chief, and he, formerly so magnanimous, now gloomy and treacherous, ended up by banishing his son.

He departed.

His childhood companions followed him; and, for want of anything better to do, began to overrun and pillage the country.

Violence and rapine seduce Maori.²¹⁶ Men ready for war went off to join the young chief. His band became numerous and formidable. His father, then, ordered his death.

The peninsula, immediately, became safe and tranquil again.

However the old Akaroa’s terrors continued. He was afraid of his best warriors. Only rogues and cowards approached him.

Nocturnal murders took place.

It was time that he ceased to live.”

LOVE AND ... DELIRIUM!

Dear Mentor,

We are under sail again, three leagues from the Bay of Islands.²¹⁷ Unfortunately the light is failing, the breeze is lessening and there is no moon. It is one more night to spend at sea.²¹⁸ I shall take advantage of it to take up Eki’s tale once more. However bizarre the breaks in it appear, I have deliberately kept them just as our friend made them. Here, then, is what she told us.

“Maori women are wiser than foreign scholars.”²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Foley, correctly, here uses “Maori” in the sense of “people” or “common people”—as opposed to the chiefs and their immediate family members. He alternates this usage with the now more usual meaning of referring to the race as a whole.

²¹⁶ In this instance it is unclear whether he means “common people” or “men”, as in the previous example, or is commenting on the race as a whole.

²¹⁷ Foley had been to the Bay of Islands aboard the *Rhin* three times: twice in 1843 and once in 1845.

²¹⁸ Sailing ships would often be forced to spend days, or even weeks, either outside harbours and unable to get in, or berthed and unable to get out, because of contrary winds.

²¹⁹ This is in accord with Comte’s belief that women should hold a higher position in society. Compared with European women at the time, some felt that Maori women *did* occupy a better

Never do they confide the precious poems of their nation to slight and defenceless pieces of paper.

Never do they let an uncouth tongue garble their so wonderful verses.

Never do the thoughts that they contain, (constantly transported from memory to memory by friendly lips), lie dormant for a second in the sleep of forgetfulness.

To recite to each other the glorious exploits of their Atuas; their Tapus, so full of wisdom; and the high deeds of Maori heroes; the women hide themselves religiously. Thus my mother and I often did, on the right side of the little lake, in that dark and narrow grotto masked so well by shrubbery.²²⁰

Shame on the men who now, like then already,²²¹ leave to women the crushing charge of conserving these precious treasures.²²²

To imitate the Pikopos they despise the laws of Maui; no longer learn our sacred chants and flee the noble labours of their ancestors.²²³

Their stupid disdain will only last a short while!

Maui will make them tire of their begging from strangers food which poisons them, and clothing which pollutes them with vermin!²²⁴

He will make them tire of sitting crouched the whole day under their warm blankets, their bodies damp, their eyes half-asleep, their faces stupefied, neither awake nor asleep, as still and silent as seals sprawled out on the land in the full sun!

He will make them tire of having done nothing more glorious in their lives than having hunted, crushed and devoured the vile lice that devour them!

Restored one day to their ancient and noble customs, the Maori will seize their arms, drive out the Papalangis²²⁵ and will enthusiastically learn once more the precious

position. "Among them also woman is on an equality with man, and enjoys the influence due to her position" (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 141).

²²⁰ The recitation of the tapu laws may well have been conducted in secret, but the other stories of their ancestors and heroes were most certainly recited for both the entertainment and edification of all. This is the cave that the Doctor and Edouard go to later.

²²¹ Here, through Eki, Foley refers to the differences between the Maori culture he saw in the 1840s and pre-contact culture and notes that the growing trend for men to shirk their traditional cultural responsibilities started some time earlier.

²²² Tohunga were neither all priests nor all men. This was the name or title given to particularly clever or able people in any particular field (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 100).

²²³ Like many other colonised peoples the Maori were utterly demoralized, in every sense, by the Europeans. The only common-sense option open to them, most felt, was to accept and/or acquire any and everything that they could from the Europeans—tangible or otherwise.

²²⁴ The European woollen blankets quickly became unhygienic.

²²⁵ Not an unlikely thing for Eki to have said, even if she would have said "pakeha" rather than 'Papalangis', and consistent with Comte's anti-colonialist views, but Foley, of course, was writing with hindsight after the land wars of the 1860s.

chants which teach the ruses of war, the secrets of industry²²⁶ and the taboos of religion.²²⁷

They will learn them once more!

And, returned once more to their former occupations, their women will no longer become sterile; and will no longer wither before their time.²²⁸

Our sacred chants are infinite in number.

The skulls of men, thicker and larger than ours, provide them with better and safer storage places than ours; the more robust bodies of men offer more solid supports; their larger, firmer brains a more abundant and better nourishment.

The Atuas and the Maori heroes, Maui above all,²²⁹ have put their indomitable courage and prodigious strength into our sacred poems.

All that which is impure, our periodic soiling above all, repels them.²³⁰

It is for this reason that those of us who carry in our heads the innumerable verses of our Tapus finish by becoming in lunar terms as dry as our men.

To force us to become thus, the spirits sometimes employ violence and sometimes seduction.

At times then, (strangling us from the inside, so that our limbs twist, our features grimace, our faces turn blue, our mouths foam and our throats yelp like dogs), they ensure that men are horrified by us and flee; and at other times, (in order that we are admired and venerated, without anyone daring to approach us), they immobilise our bodies, by their imperturbable majesty, whilst they lift our souls into the radiant abode of the stars.

There, by means of enchanting images, they enrapture us.

There, by means of delicious sensations, they cradle us in happiness, incomprehensible but full of charm.

²²⁶ By "industry" Foley meant the sort of work that Best is referring to when he says: "A large number of such charms and ceremonies pertained to all industries and arts, as agriculture, fishing, trapping, weaving, war, &c" (Best, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, I, 1976, p.309).

²²⁷ Samuel Marsden wrote that "[Kendall's] mind has been greatly polluted by studying the abominations of the heathens" (*The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.351) and spoke of "the obscene customs and notions of the natives" (ibid, p.347), but Foley clearly held more progressive views.

²²⁸ The birthrate amongst nineteenth-century Maori women was quite low (*The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.477), and many women, and their men afterwards, became sterile after having been infected with venereal diseases (Gluckman, *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860*, 1976, pp.15, 191ff.).

²²⁹ Maui now tends to be referred to as a demi-god. As the greatest of the Maori heroes one could say that he was a man who achieved godlike status but he was never, as Foley has him, a god that people prayed to or feared.

²³⁰ An example of the ambivalent feelings of men towards blood, to women, to women's genitals and to the connection between all of these. "Menstruation was at the core of the identification of women's bodies with poisonous bodies in the medical tradition maintained by late medieval scholasticism [...] every woman was potentially venomous when having the menses" (French, *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, 1998, p.62).

There, for the first time in my life; I was transported, (even I!), that same morning of the day when my beloved made of himself a chief, and of me a woman.

Oh how I will remember that always.

.....

The last verse of our innumerable Tapus resumes its place in my memory.

Ea is leaving me.

Along with her, the grotto with its shrubbery, lake and mountains ... everything is disappearing.

The adored image of my childhood companion alone fills my soul.

I see his face, noble and handsome; his body, slim and supple; his limbs, graceful and languid in repose, beautifully defined and swift in action.

His locks, already almost black, soft and silky as freshly-scraped and still moist flax thread, fall ... (strange whim) ... in curls down to his shoulders.

His broad forehead, pure, straight, high, as proud as the giant pine which no wind can bend, displays all his pride.

His eyebrows loom as powerfully as the dark greenery of that Ariki of trees,²³¹ and express his defiance.

The white of his eyes is like the snow; his pupil sparkles like a sun ray; his iris is as wild and bright as flame.

Closing his long lashes, blacker than the charcoal used for tattoos, scarcely moderates the ferocity of his gaze. His eyelids alone, in closing their perfect oval, can extinguish it a little.

Never were eyes as beautiful as those of my beloved!

His nose, long, straight, raised in the middle (but less than that of the albatross, at its end)²³² descends majestically to his marvellous mouth.

His nostrils are fine, small and almost immobile when he is calm. Anger makes them flare frighteningly wide with tumultuous exhalations.

His lips, narrow and bright red, descend in three curves; and rise three times also, gracefully undulating. When they part, small, white and thickly-set teeth appear along their finely elongated edges.

No mouth could whisper sweet words of persuasion or spit out the staccato accents of anger and insult better than that of my beloved.

A light down begins to adorn his upper lip. Stronger and thicker as it descends towards his chin, it completes (but without concealing too much) the perfect oval of this noble face.

²³¹ This, as with the "giant pine" referred to above, is likely to be the kauri which Foley will have seen in the North Island, at least. Totara were also plentiful enough on Banks Peninsula.

²³² Such an image is very likely, as with the tui image further on, to have been used by a Maori woman and Foley may well have heard such bird-images used—the whole description is quite accurately "Maori".

Just as white featherlets, curled, transparent and as light as snow-flakes, embellish the splendid greenish throat of the elegant tui; the equally graceful and diaphanous spirals of his beard,²³³ still blond, decorate the already bronzed throat of my beloved.

No tattoo ornaments his face and yet it is beautiful:²³⁴ so beautiful that, even now, my eyes fill with tears, remembering it.

Remembering it ... even as it was when my soul returned to earth, to take possession once more of my body, the morning of the day when ...!

.....

I was ... standing, and completely naked²³⁵ ... in the arms of the young, six-fingered chief.

His ardent eyes troubled my head.

His hand, straying over my breast, filled me with strange tremors.
A horrible anxiety prevented me from fleeing.

Shame, at last, unlocked my tongue!

‘Akaroa, what do you want of me?’

‘That which a husband wants of his wife.’

My fear caused him, in turn, to be afraid: his face became sad and gloomy: and his tears flowed like rain.

‘See,’ he said, ‘my arms have become lean with battle; my feet are burnt with walking; my cloak is torn by thorns; my body is devoured by hunger.

Thirst burns my mouth as tears do my eyes ... pain is making my head spin ... An ardour ... you alone can extinguish it!

Eki, be as kind as you are beautiful.’

And I, I trembled all the more.

And he, his hand crushing mine, held me, still, at his side ... and continued, uncontrollably:

‘They have put my warriors to flight!

²³³ “The New Zealander would have a tolerably strong beard if he did not eradicate it as soon as it appears” (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, II, 56). Boulton also speaks of one, “Ooree Pahbah [...] a tall stout fellow with a bushy beard” (Boulton, *Journal of a Rambler*, 1986, p.68). It seems that, as with Europeans, beards were fashionable among the Maori at different times and places.

²³⁴ “When the child attained maturity the final beautifying process was begun—that of tattooing” (Best, *The Whare Kohanga and its Lore*, 1975, p.49). In Maori terms an untattooed man was considered unattractive.

²³⁵ “Intense shame was felt by a woman having been seen naked and a man might take advantage of this by spying on a woman and hoping that the fact of having been seen naked would force her to marry him. The puhi Te Aka-tawhia was led to marry Maahanga in this manner.” (Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, 1960, p.14). Akaroa may have surprised and stripped Eki while she was in a religious trance with something like this in mind.

They have made me wander like a wild dog!²³⁶
 They have hunted me down like a Taipo.

The lies of my father fall on my head.
 Maui overpowers me. He is jealous of my six fingers.
 Taia the beautiful was too credulous.

All ... all hunt me to kill me. Let my race, at least, survive.
 Eki, be as kind as you are beautiful ... and receive, before my departure, the ...
 breath of the Akaroas.’

He begged me! I refused.

His voice, his eyes, his arms, his detestable rage and lust, were immediately upon
 me.
 ‘Taipos and Moas²³⁷,’ I cried: ‘To me, Maopo.’

Like a seal onto a tuna, my father threw himself on Akaroa.
 They fell to the ground, roared, rolled and struggled with each other.²³⁸
 The young man stood up alone: and my life followed that of my father.”

HARD-ABOUT!

(As the old sea-dogs used to say).

Pain restores me to life!

I see Maopo, motionless, forehead cut open and all bloodied.
 He has been lashed fast to the length of timber which will never leave him except in
 helping to burn his flesh. Rage has tightened the lengths of flax which marry him to
 his treacherous companion of the road and flame²³⁹ so much that his body is cut from
 one end to other with numerous rings.
 Prepared thus for the feast of Maui, the vigilant hunter, the intrepid warrior, the
 noble so proud of his numerous exploits resembles a sleeping caterpillar, cowardly,
 crawling and repulsively huge!

²³⁶ A very serious situation from a Maori point of view. The tangata haere were in a similar position to that of the medieval European outlaws—without recourse to aid from anyone.

²³⁷ Maori did not use the names of gods or mythical creatures as exclamations: this is a transfer to Maori culture of a European habit.

²³⁸ This may very well be from an actual but misunderstood observation of the bride’s and the groom’s parties fighting over a woman—“The New Zealand method of ‘courtship and matrimony’ is a most extraordinary one; so much so, that an observer could never imagine any affection existed between the parties” (Earle, *Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand*, 1966, p.180).

²³⁹ A reference, perhaps, to Maori fire-sticks which they took on the road, as Europeans took tinder-boxes. The “treacherous” aspect would be that such trusted implements could be used, along with a larger version, a post, to burn the owner alive. The fire-sticks consisted of a hard and a soft piece of wood which, by rubbing a rounded rod along a groove, produced heated wood dust which caught fire when blown on.

These execrable preparations make me turn my eyes on myself.

Horror!

I, so inoffensive, am also prepared for sacrifice!

Ah, my eyes, close yourselves forever!

They obey.

But, more curious and more cruel than they, my ears stay half-open.

Akaroa's men are whispering.

My ears hear their infamous proposals; understand their licentious laughter; and explain to me the atrocious pains which torture my intestines.

Shame overwhelms me. Modesty exasperates me. I want to insult and curse, at least with my eyes, the execrable six-fingered chief; ... and suddenly, (right beside me), I see him standing there, taller, more terrible and more handsome than ever.

He is conjuring up anger.

Anger, implacable enemy of irresolution! His glory, at last, is about to spread itself!²⁴⁰

'Him or me,' he roars, foaming with rage.²⁴¹

(His words alone were culpable on this day ... so odious in the morning, but so adorable in the evening!)

'Him or me ... the weak or the strong ... the imposter or the tabooed one.

Maui, give me victory! And the blood of Iwikau will slake your jealousy.²⁴²

Slaves and warriors ... men and women ... young and old ... provisions and huts ... all, absolutely all, will perish in the flames and for you alone.

Maui, give me victory! And the victims which the avarice of my father refused you at my birth will be doubled forty times over.

Maui, Maui, give me victory, and never will you lack for human flesh!'

Akaroa comes to a decision and leaves.

My father and I are taken away. The young chief's followers disperse (happy as they are) to amuse themselves, and follow him, scattering themselves along the bank of the little lake.²⁴³

In the mornings, when the little kiwis go out to pasture,²⁴⁴ their mother has difficulty in looking after them. They are so lively at that time that they do not even hear her

²⁴⁰ Would-be chiefs—and even acknowledged chiefs—could not automatically assume acceptance or obedience from their people. A chief was merely first among equals. Apart from in times of war, he had to ask for, rather than demand, agreement or obedience (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.15).

²⁴¹ He is referring to his father, Akaroa I.

²⁴² Iwikau, with Tikao, was originally from Kaiapoi and settled in the peninsula area after Te Rauparaha's sacking of the Kaiapoi pa.

²⁴³ Wairewa.

²⁴⁴ Foley may have been unaware of the habits of the kiwi, which, apart from being mostly nocturnal, lay only one egg at a time, although these facts were known and in published accounts by the time he

worried clucking. It is fatigue, not danger, that finally makes them attentive; and in the evening they walk almost on top of her.

At the start of their expedition, the young Akaroa's warriors act as the little kiwis²⁴⁵ do. At the end of the day they will be like them again.

Meanwhile, the procession goes up the little lake; turns firstly into the fern, and after that the forest.

The further it advances the larger it becomes, with more people joining in. Always new faces; always young but always sombre, often fierce and sometimes even terrifying.

They reach the arid crest. They rest a short moment and move on. The descent is quickly made. The sea-shore is reached at last, in Akaroa's own harbour ...²⁴⁶

.....

Perfect calm: cloudless sky: radiant sun, although already descending. Not a ripple on the water; not a breath in the air; not a sound anywhere; in all the bay not a movement.

The excessive heat of the day makes plants, animals and men ... along with prudence itself, sleepy.

The sun and his rays in the sky, the young chief and his warriors on the land are the only ones to watch and to move.

Everything now smiles on the son; as formerly it smiled on the father.

The young Akaroa boards his canoe and utters a cry.

Immediately, from the little bays and creeks, from the gullies and from the bushes themselves one hundred cries, one hundred warriors, one hundred canoes reply.²⁴⁷

The bay, so deserted and so calm the instant before, comes alive as people appear from all sides.

wrote *Eki* (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, I, 231; II, 136). Alternatively, he is referring to weka, which is most likely, or to quail—in a quite accurate manner—but by a mistaken name.

²⁴⁵ Kiwi-kiwi was common usage at the time. "The kiwi, or kiwi-kiwi, as it is called by the natives" (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, I, 231).

²⁴⁶ Akaroa and his followers have left the present day Birdlings Flat area and have headed along the south side of Wairewa, up the hill-side, through the then thick bush over the summit and down into Akaroa Harbour.

²⁴⁷ When Foley was in the area the Maori in Akaroa Harbour numbered less than fifty, all told. Before the Kai huanga feud and Te Rauparaha's depredations there was obviously a far greater population and Foley is guessing as to the extent of this.

The cormorants, terns, gulls, albatrosses, petrels and Cape Pigeons²⁴⁸ are less noisy and swift to pounce on a carcass than the warriors of the six-fingered chief are to converge, singing, on their master.

Whilst joy, enthusiasm, and hope of victory and spoils guide the young Akaroa; sadness, discouragement, fear of pillage and the terror of massacre engulfs the pa of his old father.

The Magnanimous has ceased to live.²⁴⁹ Maopo has not returned: and a war-cry is heard.

‘Is it an Ariki come to support us? Or is it an enemy?

Should one wait or flee? Welcome him or fight him?’

The flotilla and the cries approach. They draw near and the young chief sends his name to the shore.

On land, enthusiasm greets him; at sea, murmuring commences. His allies of a moment before are now his enemies, and his enemies his allies.

Who is it that he will betray?

He disembarks, the pa applauds him; but we are carried there and he murmurs ... the sons of fire,²⁵⁰ on the contrary, shout with joy. Ea appears and they seize her and bind her.

The young chief, uneasy and sombre, faces those who surround him.

He makes a sign; and there is silence.

His eye lights up, his arms raise, his fingers spread, his voice vibrates, then he speaks:

“I am tabooed!

An extra finger gives my hand an irresistible strength. An extra toe gives my foot an agility without equal.²⁵¹

Let none of you resist me! Even flight itself would end in death.

See Maopo! See Eki!

The father fought for his daughter! The daughter ... for her virginity!

Where is the strength of the one? Where the purity of the other?

²⁴⁸ This particular petrel, *Daption capensis australis*, spends its life at sea except for the breeding season. Sir Joseph Banks observed it in New Zealand during Cook’s first voyage, calling it the Pintado Petrel. In New Zealand it is “frequently met with along the coast and at sea, being most common in the south” (Oliver, *New Zealand Birds*, 1955, pp.106-7). In his *Quatre années en Océanie* Foley compares it to the albatross (1866, I, 54).

²⁴⁹ It is possible that Foley chose to pass over the more dramatic episodes in the story simply because of his strong feelings about revolution.

²⁵⁰ The young Akaroa is symbolised by fire, because of his association with Maui. His father is symbolised by the sea, both because of his stratagem in defeating Iotete and as a contrast.

²⁵¹ Growth of any sort denoted the favour of the gods and polydactylism was regarded in this way (Hanson and Hanson, *Counterpoint in Maori Culture*, 1983, p.51).

Amongst men as amongst women ... in this pa as in all my others; I want but one will: mine!

The Ariki of the sea was strong: the Ariki of the fire is terrible!

The Ariki of the sea was good: the Ariki of the fire is perfect!

Set Maopo free: he is my father!

Set Ea free: she is my mother!

Set Eki free: she is my wife!

Let the funeral feast and the death chants commence!’

He speaks: all obey.

He then prostrated himself: both his chest and his forehead to the earth: placed the feet of his venerable father²⁵² on his head: and, without further thought for the others, spent the rest of the day consumed by his sincere grief, his profound emotions and his gigantic projects.

The following day, at day break, Maopo adorned the body of his late master: crouched him down into his favourite posture:²⁵³ put his redoubtable patu across his knees: and lowered him into his tomb.²⁵⁴

My noble husband²⁵⁵ placed, at the side of his father, the smoked heads of the many chiefs that he had already killed on his vagabond excursions; piled up, behind him, slaves that he sacrificed to the enmity that had so long divided the two of them; filled the vast pit to the top with gifts and provisions of all sorts; and had the whole carefully covered over.

The death chants then began again, alternating with funeral feasting, and only ended with the daylight.

His magnificent ornamentation, his proud and majestic bearing, his glorious procession of nobles, his great troop of slaves and his prodigious riches earned that magnanimous Ariki of the seas a welcome so flattering and glorious to that happy

²⁵² Elsdon Best refers to a somewhat similar gesture of inheriting a dead tohunga’s knowledge and power by biting the big toe of his left foot (*Maori Religion and Mythology*, 1976, I, 357).

²⁵³ The Maori did not have chairs previous to European contact and sat cross-legged on the floor—as do, say, many Japanese today, still. A Westerner might find it strange, however, if a Japanese commented of him that his favourite posture was that of sitting in a chair. Dead bodies were, in fact, often put into a sitting position with their knees bound to their chests (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 121).

²⁵⁴ The word “tomb” adds a falsely European aspect, but this may well be from actual observation, as, dressed in their finest cloaks and adorned with feathers, chiefs could be buried with their favourite weapon and other personal possessions, and slaves were killed (R Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 1855, pp.97-101), and, as Taylor and Cruise both point out, practices varied considerably around the country: “among this extraordinary people the same inconsistency prevails in the disposal of the dead, which is observed in many of their other customs” (Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months’ Residence in New Zealand*, 1957, p.100).

²⁵⁵ This sudden reverence for her “noble husband” imposes European terminology and its accompanying preconceptions onto a rather different situation. Cruise speaks of brutal violence on the part of a chief desiring a woman with an amicable adjustment soon following (*Journal of a Ten Months’ Residence in New Zealand*, 1957, p.190).

abode of the dead that his hatred for his child transformed itself into an unfailing affection.²⁵⁶

THE PA OF IWIKAU

(Pronounced Ee-wee-coh)²⁵⁷

Three days after this event, as we were beside the sea, Akaroa took his cloak, placed it on a small mound and held it there with five pebbles: two large, a medium-sized one, and two small. The middle-sized one he put at the top; the two small ones on the bottom corners; the two large ones on each side, exactly half-way down.

Then he came back to us and murmured, in a sombre voice: 'This is Iwikau's pa.'²⁵⁸

The stone on top represents the Ariki's own redoubt. It overlooks, both to the right and left, the upper front of his pa.

The two enormous ones stand for the earthworks forming salients²⁵⁹ in the centre of each flank, and the two little ones the special fortifications at the ends of the shoulders.

Of the four sides to this village, perched high on a hill, only the lower one is accessible. The two ends are very strong. It is the centre that I shall attack.'

Whilst saying this, he fixed Maopo with a stare. But he, surprised, spoke not a word: and my noble spouse continued:

'Five terraces, one above the other, divide the interior of this pa. The lowest has ten huts on it, forming two different-sized groups. The next one up has twenty, in three different locations. Thirteen are on the third, again separated into two blocks. The second-to-last has nine, five on one side, four on the other; the highest contains a single, enormous one, the lair of Iwikau himself.

That makes two hundred able-bodied men, plus women, children and the elderly. I will need five hundred warriors.'

As Maopo was about to speak his young chief stops him and carries on:

²⁵⁶ An accurate description of a combination of genuine filial grief and common-sense propitiation of someone who, having died, may have become more potentially dangerous as a spirit than when alive.

²⁵⁷ In the original French this is "I-Oui-Kao".

²⁵⁸ Commandant Bérard had the plan of Ruapekapeka Pa, taken by the English in 1846, and probably discussed it with his officers, including Foley, before sending it to the French Minister of the Navy with his despatch of 20 May 1846 (Archives Nationales, Paris: Marine BB4 1011). The pa described here in *Eki* is a similar musket pa, but not identical. A plan of the Ruapekepeka pa is found in Best, *The Pa Maori*, 1975, p.396.

²⁵⁹ Part of a fortification pointing away from the centre.

‘I well know that Iwikau has a Taipo’s nest for a dwelling, both mountain and cave at the same time, earth and branches, house and storehouse both. It is filled with both fern and arms. Two or three window-holes let the light in, but smoke makes it dark. As sombre and treacherous as its master, it is an impenetrable retreat; I will destroy it, without setting eyes on it.’

‘But,’ said Maopo quickly, ‘In this keep, Iwikau can hold off an entire pa. A row of enormous stakes separates him completely from his people; and, behind this palisade, a ditch of great depth and divided by many traverses,²⁶⁰ forms yet another of his defences.’

And, more swiftly still than my father, my noble spouse replies:

‘A defence against his own people, is the same as a defence for them, against him! For in Iwikau’s village every terrace, every group of huts, every simple hut is filled with foodstuff and has, at the very least, its earthworks²⁶¹ and sometimes even its own palisade.

A chief who fears his warriors and whom his warriors do not love is always defeated in advance. All have armed themselves against him, as he has armed himself against them all,²⁶² which means that no-one has armed himself against me.

Instead of depending on him, on the day of glory they will leave him, to take care of themselves. Scattered, what can they do? Nothing!

We shall have only to club them, one after the other, like seals.

Woe to the chief whose courage and the terror that he inspires²⁶³ personally are insufficient to protect him! Woe to him who does not realise that, to be master of their valour, a chief needs to hold his warriors by their stomachs.²⁶⁴

Ignoring these truths, Iwikau, you will perish!

In killing you I shall have little glory! But a foolish chief does not deserve to live.”

In speaking, the six-fingered chief was becoming overly excited. My father, to render him more prudent, said:

‘Akaroa, do not forget!

²⁶⁰ A barrier or barricade thrown across an approach or line of fire, as a defence.

²⁶¹ Foley has “banquette” here, which normally refers to a raised platform behind a wall of some sort, on which the defenders can stand to fire their weapons over. See pp.319-20, *supra*.

²⁶² “Chiefs held power only with the consent of their equals in rank” (Sharp (ed), *Duperrey’s Visit to New Zealand in 1824*, 1971, p.101; *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.118).

²⁶³ The word in the original French is “empire”, but this is clearly a compositor’s mistake for “inspire”.

²⁶⁴ A semicolon, instead of a comma, makes this sentence confusing in the original.

Around the pa of Iwikau runs a wide sentry path; outside this circular path is a strong parapet and around this parapet a row of fearsome stakes, long, pointed, fire-hardened, deeply embedded in the soil and pointing in all directions.'

'What difference does that make?' laughed the young chief. Maopo continued:

'Around them circles a ditch, cut with numerous traverses; around that, on its escarp,²⁶⁵ a second palisade of which the raised posts are attached one to the other, both at the top and in the middle: around them again, at their foot, an earthwork furnished on the outside with a third palisade, with stakes like the preceding one, but with embrasures²⁶⁶ below.'

'What difference does that make?' cried the young chief again. My father, immediately added:

'At the foot of the embrasures a pit; on its escarp a further talus;²⁶⁷ and finally, outside, the glacis.'²⁶⁸

'... In front! But what about the sides?' replied Akaroa at last, incapable of waiting a word longer.

'Iwikau, unsure of himself, Iwikau, still trembling, has made a great abatis²⁶⁹ of felled trees!

Twisted together, mixed up, broken, trunks and branches, bushes and creepers, tangled and knotted together: they make an impenetrable rampart.

Under this dead and sombre forest a thousand tortuous paths circle about, strewn with pointed darts hidden under the soil or in the leaves and bordered by fearsome pits. Frail trellis-work masks their mouths; sharp spikes arm their depths.

Children of the fire, fear nothing!

None of these hideous monsters shamming sleep, always ready to bite, will engulf a single one of you!

Akaroa knows how to break all of these fearful traps, to wear them away, to burn and consume them with the flame that saw him born.'

As he spoke, he became animated. He became more animated still and cried out:

'Burn, you trees and branches, you bushes and creepers, you spikes, trellises and darts, burn!

Devour in your furnace all of Iwikau's ruses; show us his atrocious stupidity, naked and gaping like the thousand mouths of his pits.'

²⁶⁵ Ground cut into a steep slope.

²⁶⁶ An embrasure or loophole is an opening in a parapet through which guns can be fired. Since, before European contact, the Maori did not normally use projectile weapons of any sort in warfare, this feature would only have been of use after the introduction of muskets. The weapons spoken of by Foley would have been of limited use manipulated through embrasures.

²⁶⁷ The abrupt sloping side of a wall or earthwork.

²⁶⁸ The parapet extended in a long, open slope to meet the natural surface of the ground—so as to offer no protection for an attacker.

²⁶⁹ A defence formed by placing felled trees lengthwise one over the other with their branches towards the enemy's lines.

As he spoke, he moved about, gesticulating. My father, filled with wonder, copied him; and soon the two of them were almost ready to send forth their war chant.

However, they stopped once more.

‘Three strong parapets,’ said Maopo.

‘Two ditches,’ exclaimed Akaroa.

‘Plus three rows of palisades ...

... And a whole forest overturned.

Eight necklaces ...

... With a belt ...

Beautiful adornments of a fool’s pa.

... Vain defences of a camp of cowards!’²⁷⁰

‘Maopo,’ the young chief said, almost in a fury and grinding his teeth, ‘the dolphin²⁷¹ swims around the sardines that he wants to eat, in a wide circle as large as it is rapid. Then he continues, tightening his circle, positioning himself more vertically as he goes, and, fearing his cruel teeth, the small fry dare not flee.

Meanwhile, straightening up even more, there he is, almost upright, pivoting on his flexible tail. As his body turns, then, he drives these trapped fish that cannot flee back on top of each other. Inevitably, then, they leap into the air.

They then fall back into his jaws.’²⁷²

Like the dolphin, I shall tighten my circle of cruel flames around the pa of Iwikau.

Always turning, always climbing and always pushing back, towards his lair, his inadequately protected warriors: I shall herd them into that den where they will be cooked, all of them, for Maui.

This will fill his insatiable jealousy up to the gills.’

And, already proud of his triumph, my noble spouse, eyes a-flame, at last begins a war chant.

Unable to stop himself, he finds his arms and legs performing the actions of combat.

Unable to stop himself, my venerable father imitates his beloved child.’²⁷³

And, unable to stop themselves, their followers, astonished and soon delighted, run up gesticulating, become excited, and, finally, follow the rhythms of their excited

²⁷⁰ The technical terms used are discussed pp.318-23, *supra*. They may be pointing out the confusion of both terminology and material as Foley tries to describe a time of rapid assimilation of new technology.

²⁷¹ The French is “taupe-marsouin”, which does not appear in any dictionary available. See p.277, *supra*.

²⁷² Similar forms of feeding by dolphins and others of their family are not uncommon (Attenborough, *Life on Earth: a Natural History*, 1979, p.243). Foley may well have seen this type of behaviour in Akaroa Harbour since it can certainly be seen in the Bay of Islands.

²⁷³ This may be from an actual observation of Maori, as on-lookers or an audience, beginning to sing and dance along with a performer in a quite un-European way.

chiefs to the point that, full of fury in *their* turn, they dance and sing along with the two of them.²⁷⁴

‘Prepare, children of the fire, make ready your fascines,²⁷⁵ light but dangerous!
Prepare, children of the fire, make ready your heavy and cruel spears!²⁷⁶
Iwikau and all his followers will perish in the middle of the flames.
Iwikau and all his followers will appease great Maui.

Children of the fire, make ready your so rapid tokotokos!
Children of the fire, make ready your clubs, as light as they are swift!
Children of the fire, make ready your bloodthirsty patus!

May Iwikau and all his followers be pierced by your deadly thrusts!
May Iwikau and all his followers perish, crushed by your blows!
May Iwikau and all his followers have their skulls split in two by your weapons!

Blow, blow, children of the fire!
Blow, that your brands²⁷⁷ flare up!
Let a vast conflagration consume Iwikau and all his followers!’

As they chant, chiefs and warriors wind around, dancing on the shore; and then finally return to the pa.”

COUNCIL OF WAR

I take up Eki’s tale once more. It is still she who is speaking.

“The morning after, at day-break, those who were watching us depart were speaking amongst themselves on the shore.

‘Whose is that canoe that is leaving?’

‘It is that of our young chief.’

‘And who are they, who accompany him?’

‘Ea, Eki and Maopo.’

‘And why are they going off so early?’

‘We do not know! Akaroa is no longer speaking.’

My mother and I were in front; my father and husband behind. All four of us paddled hard and without speaking.

²⁷⁴ “Les naturels qui s’étaient déjà animés par des danses guerrières ne voulurent pas entendre raison” (Bérard to Minister of the Navy, 20 May 1846, Archives Nationales: Marine BB⁴ 1010).

²⁷⁵ A long cylindrical faggot of brushwood or the like, firmly bound together, used in filling up ditches.

²⁷⁶ I have taken this word, although it more correctly applies to a fishing or eeling spear, to refer to the taiaha (see pp.316-7, *supra*), and Foley does translate spears as “fouennes” in his translation of Grey (Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1855, p.7; Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 270).

²⁷⁷ The original has “brandous”, which is clearly a mistake, instead of “brandons”.

We doubled successively the north²⁷⁸ point of the pass; then its long and narrow channel; then the high and steep hills at the entrance; then the two rocks that guard it; then, at last, we were out at sea.

When we were well out from land, Akaroa told all three of us to ship our paddles and to turn towards the rear.

‘Now I can speak to you,’ he said, in a calm and dignified way.

‘Yesterday I gave way to my courage. I have let my secret be seen. I have compromised your safety. I have perhaps given birth to a traitor.

Today I wish to be wise and to listen only to prudence; friend of the elderly and of women: this is why I am consulting you.

You three are all Iwikau. I am attacking you; defend yourselves; teach me what there is to be feared.’

‘Master,’ I say then to my father, ‘who is that dangerous enemy who encircles our mountain with fire and advances on our pa?’

‘It is a cruel little child: son of the great Akaroa.

The presumptuous child has taken it into his head that our pa reached to the trees: that his flames would set it on fire: and that, frightened by the blaze, we would not dare resist him.

The contrary will be the case!

Your huts will remain safe and sound. His warriors will flee before you: and he alone will succumb.

Arm yourselves then, and, fearing nothing, take up your defence positions.

Pile up by our gates the rollers for closing them; begin putting them half into their slides, even;²⁷⁹ close off all the embrasures on the outside palisade towards the summit of the pa; then afterwards rejoin me here.

My most courageous warriors and I shall run to halt this unsuspecting chief in his arrogant stride. I shall challenge him to combat. If he dares to accept, I shall crush him. The glory of his father is dying; and his conquests are mine.’

Thus Maopo, in the role of Iwikau, replied to me.

‘Continue,’ said Akaroa; ‘I could have said all that, myself.’

Maopo continued:

‘Here I am on the glaciis. I advance a few paces and, poking out my tongue at you, call out: “Akaroa! What are you doing here, so close to our palisades?”’

²⁷⁸ The Maori did not, in fact, have terms for the compass points—they described the direction by reference to known objects such as, in this case, a particular point of the pass (Beattie, *The Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, 1994, p.196). They referred to prevailing wind directions in the same manner.

²⁷⁹ “The only egress, in time of war, is through small loop-holes [...] which are confined to the outer fence; the inner one having sliding doors, formed out of a solid piece of wood, secured with bolts and bars” (Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970, p.123).

'I have vowed to sacrifice you, you and yours, to the great Maui: I have come to fulfil my promise.'

"What! You have really come to attack me? Poor, tiny little coastal chief! Child that a woman could conquer, you want to dominate the high reaches! Since when does the paddling penguin want to nest in the high trees?"

'Do not despise, weak Iwikau, either my age or my country.²⁸⁰ He who can soar out to sea, to sleep only on the swells, surpasses in courage and strength the bird that can only jump or flutter from branch to branch.

Should you be even that strange creature, half parrot, half owl,²⁸¹ that my father saw at the end of the world; neither your strength nor your size, nor (even less) your courage and your child of the night tricks would frighten me; for I am a young albatross.'

"For a man to strike a Picanninny there is only shame. But the joy of exterminating the race of Akaroas rids me of all repugnance. Advance, then, arrogant child, that I might finish with you.

When all of your people are destroyed I shall be able to fight you in single combat, to ensure you some little honour, before consummating your ruin. Until that time, postpone your challenge."

'So, what they say is true!

The albatross only has courage when he is out at sea. Setting his foot on the soil he becomes more clumsy and more cowardly than the apteryx²⁸² or the penguin.

Shame on both you and your father!

Shame on all of those you command; and shame on great Maui himself!

His six-fingered chief (unheard-of thing!) has just refused combat.

Oh land of the Maori, did you ever witness like turpitude?

Open up your waters, immense sea, to wash away this vile staining of my land.'

At this speech of the great hunter, speaking as if he were Iwikau, our young chief was struck dumb.

Trembling and profoundly disturbed, he hid his head in his hands, burst into a flood of tears and sat there, completely stunned.

All three of us then felt a truly horrifying anguish.

Heads bowed, arms dangling, eyes dead and ears uneasy we awaited a reply; and not a word reached us.

Had nothing but the simulation of a real war swallowed up, forever, the courage of our young chief? Were the Akaroas finished? Their valour was proverbial; will it be the same, henceforth, with their cowardice?

Our minds were awl with these thoughts; and my spouse said not a word to us?

²⁸⁰ My *country* is an accurate description, in Maori terms, of how the two chiefs would have thought of land separated by only a few kilometres, perhaps. "Tauwiwi", meaning strange tribe or foreign race (Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed., 1997), can be applied to anybody not part of one's own, known group.

²⁸¹ The kakapo, a flightless parrot, would have appeared more strange to Europeans than to Maori, who were used to large flightless birds, but it was certainly already rare in the early nineteenth century.

²⁸² Foley refers earlier to the moa as gigantic apteryxes and so, even if he did not describe their habits accurately, presumably knew that the kiwi were also apteryxes.

His body and all his limbs trembled. His chest rattled tumultuously. Shame gripped him by the throat ...

... the tide was still going out. Our canoe, drifting, fled such a crime shame-facedly. The land, submerging beneath the waves, hastened to wash its trace away.

Farewell, beautiful lake! Farewell, shore! Farewell, lands and waters made illustrious by Maopo and his noble master!
Farewell, dearest pride of Ea! The only love of Eki, farewell!

And so, all three in silence, paralysed and hope-forlorn; we saluted once more that which we had adored.

And so, all three, souls in distress and all three cursing life, we prayed that the immense sea might take us, with our idol: unable to live without loving him.

To see the water, so calm and beautiful, one would have thought it asleep: it had been listening to us, that treacherous sea!

... Suddenly my husband arose and cried out in a thunderous voice:

‘Yes, I will refuse combat! Yes, my courage and my pride will yield to my prudence! Yes, I will brave all of these insults!

Listen to what I shall do.

My wish is to kill all of my enemies; and that not one of you die.

I shall put all of my warriors together. I shall protect those in the first rank with fascines as large as themselves. All of those in the second rank, I shall arm with spears and enormous lances.²⁸³ Those of the centre I shall make carry all that is necessary for a fire.

Then, with me on the one side and Maopo on the other, we shall prevent anyone leaving this mobile pa and guide it, keeping it tightly together, up to that of Iwikau.

We fill up the first ditch with some of our fascines and the flame fights for us.

There we are, on the bank, running towards the gate of the pa. It also is burning and we enter.

Then, one group of huts after the other, we tear them all apart. And, still well grouped together and without splitting up for a second, we slay, one after the other, all those who try to escape.

Thus, mounting upwards, and always driving before us the men of Iwikau’s pa, we push them back towards his lair, where they pile up, one on top of the other.

Then, packing fire into the mouths of his lair, we consummate the sacrifice, cooking them all for Maui; and making him our faithful ally.’

Maopo replied:

‘But, with their tokotokos?’

‘They will only pierce our bundles of faggots.’

²⁸³ The huata “is the longest fighting spear of Maoridom. It was from eighteen to twenty-five feet in length, and was much used in the defence and attack of the old Maori forts (pa). [...] The long huata were also used when attacking a fort, to fire the houses inside the defences” (Best, *Notes on the Art of War*, 2001, p.126).

‘But, with their long clubs?’
 ‘They will still only harm the faggots.’
 ‘But, with their patus?’
 ‘How do you expect them to reach us?’

My father, then filled with wonder, began that famous chant:
 ‘Prepare and make ready, children of the fire, prepare your fascines, light but deadly.
 Prepare and make ready, children of the fire, prepare your ...’

But the young chief, interrupting him, cried:
 ‘See the cormorant, when he is fishing. He stands as a sentinel, eyes alert; from his branch or rock he surveys the transparent sea.
 A fish passes; he pounces on it; stuns it with his swiftness and takes it back. If he dives, his aim is sure. Never does he miss his prey.
 When he comes out of the water? Quite the contrary. Even if he has no longer anything in his beak, he can scarcely fly. He beats, he beats, he beats his wings, paddling, and only rises up slowly.
 All clubs are like him. When they are falling, their blows are terrible. Beware of your shoulders and your head. As soon as they rise, they lose their strength; easily miss their target; and, at the most, break the skin.’²⁸⁴

Should our men, (at the foot of the glacis, in the ditches, or elsewhere on a lower level,) let down their guard for an instant to strike an uncertain blow—from the talus, the banks, or the crests of the parapets they will be struck down forthwith.
 I do not wish that to happen.
 Our fascines will receive the blows: with our lances we will return them; and our spears will inflame the faggots so much, in poking them, that their fire will kill all of our enemies for us.’

Maopo, unable to contain himself any longer, began again:
 ‘Blow, blow, children of the fire, blow, that your brands ignite; and let a vast conflagration consume Iwikau and all his folk.’

His young chief and he then drew closer to each other, the better to talk battle.
 From time to time they chanted.
 My mother and I paddled.²⁸⁵
 We headed for the harbour entrance. The current was against us. We stemmed it only with great difficulty. Our two warriors were still talking.²⁸⁶
 Only after dark did we enter into the harbour.

For twenty days preparation was made of all that a siege required. Afterwards, we set off on our way.

²⁸⁴ As with the other metaphors concerning birds, this is true to the spirit of Maori rhetoric. There was the point, also, that “In the quick in-fighting in which the clubs were used, a fraction of a second could not be wasted in raising the weapon to deliver a blow” (Vayda, *Maori Warfare*, 1960, p.8).

²⁸⁵ In Maori terms this is actually what Foley and Positivism seem to have envisaged: women, working within their capabilities, helping their men while the latter get on with more important things.

²⁸⁶ Foley is being uncharacteristically ironic here.

The promise that he had made, Akaroa kept in its entirety. Iwikau, all of his people and all they possessed, perished, consumed in the flames.

This unparalleled sacrifice Maui accepted with so much favour that the life of my beloved became, from that day forth, a veritable triumphal march.”

THE CONSTELLATION OF THE AKAROAS

My dear and revered Mentor,

The efforts, the emotion and the reminders of her losses that Eki endured, in telling us her story, occasioned in the poor woman a most violent crisis. She recovered from it shattered and broken, not even able to speak. Two hours of good, deep sleep gave her back some little strength. Waking, she said to us:

“Eki is forever broken! Let the spirit of the Magnanimous visit her once more and her widowhood will be at an end.

Her life hangs now from a thread more thin and more frail than that of fresh flax. When Maui, once more, has conquered his radiant land,²⁸⁷ this last link will be broken.”

“My dear Eki,” said my master, “why these morbid premonitions? My medical knowledge,²⁸⁸ you know, possesses ...”

“And why prolong my life? ... Have I not, then, suffered enough? ... Do I not, then, still love Akaroa? ... In waiting so long he will forget me! ... Who knows if he will recognise me?

Maui has said that the Maori, if he is ill, is taboo to other men. Let the sick and the healthy never live under the same roof.²⁸⁹

The two of you should leave, now.”

“Eki, if, with the Maori an occasion sometimes excites avarice; then violence; then even crime ...”

“That which Maui has done is well done. The precepts he gave to us we should all, as long as we live, follow and not explain.”²⁹⁰

“And so the help that I once ...?”

“... if I have violated his sacred law, you, least of all, should mention it.”²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ A further reference to the story she will tell later.

²⁸⁸ Foley simply uses the word “science” here.

²⁸⁹ “The sick were not allowed to die indoors lest their tapu desecrate the house and it could no longer be lived in. The sick were driven outdoors, left to fend for themselves” (Gluckman, *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860*, 1976, p.150).

²⁹⁰ Maui was not, in fact, the great law-maker, but the great law-breaker.

²⁹¹ Since illness, as well as misfortune generally, were thought to have been caused by various atua, the pre-contact Maori did not practise any form of material or medical intervention. Tohunga were asked to intervene with the atua concerned.

“Oh, noble Eki,” replied my master, kissing her emaciated hand, “forgive your best friend.”

The poor woman was no longer listening.

As a child, that has struggled too long against sleep, succumbs and falls suddenly asleep, she, also, had yielded to her excessive fatigue.

We covered her carefully and watched over her for the entire night.

With daylight, she said:

“You must both leave. Listen to me: and then go.

After my death, Tamakeke will give you my red²⁹² casket, my long and beautiful ear pendants and Akaroa’s hei-tiki.”

“Tamakeke! but he is untrustworthy,” cried my astonished master.

“Why do you interrupt me already?

Am I not already sufficiently exhausted?

Eki, alive, made him tremble. Eki, dead, will make him tremble.

You will give, to the chief of the Wiwi,²⁹³ the hei-tiki of my noble spouse; that he might come and protect my people.²⁹⁴

You will give Werera²⁹⁵ my red casket.

I give, to my foreign son, my long and beautiful jade pendants.

All papalangi men, believing themselves more handsome than women, scorn to adorn themselves as women do. The men of my country are wiser, they imitate us and do well.”²⁹⁶

(She smiled, looking at me).

“Adorn your future bride with them. They will be bright in her ears. They will bring to her face the springtime grace of Eki. Your eyes will find her more beautiful. Perhaps, then, you will love her ... as Eki loves Akaroa.

From the radiant abode of the stars, higher than all of the mountains placed one on top of the other, the entire earth can be seen.

My eyes will recognise my greenstone. It will guide your loved ones to me. A mother always loves to see her children again, even those from another land.”

²⁹² “Kura”, to the Maori, meant “precious” and “red feathers” as well as simply “red” and also referred to sacred knowledge in a general way.

²⁹³ Maori for “French”—from “Oui-oui”.

²⁹⁴ There were some Banks Peninsula Maori in the 1840s who believed that they should deal with the French, rather than the English, partly because they had received relatively good payments from the French in return for the use of their land. This sentence suggests that the anti-colonial sentiments expressed in *Eki* may, in fact, be merely anti-British and that Foley believed that the French would have protected Maori interests better. The Positivists, too, despite their anti-colonialism, thought that their scientific religion would eventually spread beyond Europe to the rest of the world: “l’Occident régénéré devra graduellement réunir à sa foi les habitants quelconques de notre planète” (Comte, *Le Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 320).

²⁹⁵ This may be the Maori transliteration of Bérard, the captain of the *Rhin*. Several Maori women living on Banks Peninsula in the 1840s had a similar name, however, including Maopo’s wife, Wera, or Tangatahara’s niece, Te Wera.

²⁹⁶ Foley presumably meant that Maori men and women dressed more similarly than Europeans (Yate, *An Account of New Zealand*, 1970, p.158), and that the men and women both wore ear pendants.

Eki stopped for a moment, then continued:

“The custom of your country is to die amongst your loved ones: ours is to end our lives all alone.

As my fathers have done, so shall I.²⁹⁷

Tears, but no funeral ceremonies.

The Taipos will carry my body into the heart of the snowy mountains, into the tomb where they placed Maopo.

The Moas will fly my soul away to amongst its sisters, the stars—to the group²⁹⁸ of my beloved ones.”²⁹⁹

Then drawing on the sand³⁰⁰ a six-sided figure; she pointed to each of its angles, starting from the topmost and said, going from left to right:

“Akaroa, the six-fingered chief; his father, the magnanimous Ariki; his wife, the beautiful Taia:

Eki, the last of all of them: Ea, her excellent mother; and Maopo, the bold hunter:

In the centre, my child, all alone.

Thus we were, on earth; thus we shall be in the heavens.

The three men are the brightest: they shine above. The three women, much more modest, sparkle below. The weakest, but the best, is in the centre of all the others: his light is also more gentle.

As we have shone on earth so shall we shine in the heavens.”

And, going over the figure she had made, this time in the reverse direction:

“Taia, the beautiful, the first to die; the Magnanimous; then their child.

Then Maopo, the bold hunter; then his wife; and, at last, their daughter.

Still alone, Eki’s son.

In the order that we left the earth, so shall we be arranged in the skies.”

And numbering her angles, one last time and in a different manner again:

“On the right, the Ariki of the seas; and his wife, the beautiful Taia:

On the left, the bold hunter; and his wife, the excellent Ea:

²⁹⁷ Commoners were, in fact, often left to die alone, as Foley suggests. Chiefs more usually died surrounded by family who waited for a last message, such as the naming of a successor.

²⁹⁸ Matariki, or the Pleiades. “[A Maori friend] said that six stars are plainly seen in Matariki, but that a seventh is faintly visible. Colenso writes: ‘I found that the Maori could see more stars in the Pleiades with the unaided eye than I could, for, while I could only see clearly six stars, they could see seven, and sometimes eight’” (Best, *The Astronomical Knowledge of the Maori*, 1978, p.52).

²⁹⁹ “The Pleiades they believe to be seven of their countrymen, fixed after their death in that part of the heavens, and that one eye of each of them, which appears in the shape of a star, is the only part that is visible” (Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, 1817, I, 52). *Matariki*, itself, means *little eyes*.

³⁰⁰ This could very well be something that Foley had seen done, since the Maori of that time had limited access to pen and paper. John Boulton describes how the Otago Maori in the 1820s “would ask me to shew them how to write, which I did, on the sand” (*Diary of a Rambler*, 1986, p.87). Tuhawaiki, however, a major chief and commercial entrepreneur, drew maps for Shortland in the 1840s using pencil on paper (Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, 1851, p.81).

Between those four, the Ariki of the flames; his child, the blue-eyed chief; his mother, the good and pious Eki.

Thus we were married on earth; thus we shall be in the skies."

She smiled as she spoke to us, and her eyes sparkled with happiness.

Was this because she had arranged her loved ones so that her child was not all alone? Was this because she had no longer than a lunar month to live, at the most? Was this

...

Why so many questions?

Eki had gone back into her hut. Nothing could make her answer us.

Let us leave her as much of our provisions as possible; and obey her orders.

A SHORTCUT

My dear and kind Mentor,

We have just left Eki and are on our way, walking one behind the other, just as the Maori always go. We are following one of their paths, or, rather, one of their tracks. As they walk with their feet pointing straight ahead, and as they always place each foot in the print left by the other; the path they leave is extremely narrow.³⁰¹ This is not the track's only defect; for, at each instant, it loses itself amongst the fern or else drowns itself in puddles.

Our route is painful in the extreme; wearying for both legs and eyes!

Half-way up the slope the terrain is dry and riddled with long fissures which open up under our weight. In the lower areas (another torture) it is the flax and the mud which stop us at each instant.

Our path follows the foot of the hills around the edge of the lake,³⁰² and we spend an inordinate amount of time climbing up and then down again, to follow our accursed path. Here it is, drowned in a pool. Impossible to find again. Ah well, so much the better, it can go to the devil! We will carry on in a straight line.

We carry on, and here we are lost! In broad daylight, in open country and with the horizon visible on all sides.

We had no more than eight miles to go. We left before dawn. The sun is about to pass midday. The heat is becoming excessive. Our legs grow heavy. Our bodies sag. Fatigue is setting in. The goal is within our reach, in a way, and yet we cannot attain it.

We are right in the middle of a quagmire!

³⁰¹ This was a general feature: "the regular Maori tracks were only a few inches wide" (Vayda, *Maori Warfare*, 1960, p.13).

³⁰² These are the hills bordering the present-day road from Christchurch to Akaroa.

To the right, nowhere to put our feet. To the left, impassable reeds.³⁰³ In front, turf as high as ourselves. Behind, ... behind, but that is not the way!

Oh, horrible torture!

To struggle for an entire day against the earth, against the mud and the water; against the fern³⁰⁴ and the bushes, the reeds and the flax which bar our passage; against the grasses and water-weed that catch our feet; and, worst, against the ferns which, a hundred times more vicious, shake in our faces the countless spores of their corrosive pollen.

Our throats are burning; eyelids red and swollen. If, at least, being in water up to the waist, we could have drunk some? Alas! In raising its level, in flooding our path; the great lake has become brackish.³⁰⁵

To get out, we have to get our strength back!

Let us do as the rails and other water-fowl are perhaps doing around us: let us eat!

I eat and gorge myself with brandy, whilst continuing to walk. There I am then, walking, swimming, cursing, swearing and tripping behind my noble master; while he calmly walks on.

‘We are saved,’ he cries at length, ‘I see the isthmus.’³⁰⁶ One last effort! Courage! One last effort, courage! I reach him and fall into his arms, delirious with fever and drunkenness.

THE MOON AND HER PHASES

We return to Eki’s place by way of the little lake.³⁰⁷

There is nothing more sad nor more sombre than the valley it lies in! Two leagues long: a half-mile at the most across: and, on each side, mountains 800 metres and more high.

In the middle meanders, or rather stagnates a slow, silent, icy and insipid river formed by the mountain torrents. In its waters, which end up losing themselves ...

³⁰³ This further establishes the direction taken from Eki’s hut to Kaitorete as being southerly, from the Motukarara area, with the lake being on their right and the thick reeds around the shore-line on their left.

³⁰⁴ Bracken fern was both so common and so thick that “cette plante devint en beaucoup d’endroits un obstacle à leurs pérégrinations” (Foley, *Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 244-5). “There are water-courses, here and there, and near these the density of the undergrowth increases [...] the growth of ferns becomes thicker, so that progress is well nigh impossible” (Cockayne, *The Trees of New Zealand*, 1928, p.155).

³⁰⁵ During stormy weather the waves break over the spit separating Waihora from the sea; raising the level of the lake, making it brackish and adding sea weeds, as Foley describes.

³⁰⁶ Kaitorete Spit.

³⁰⁷ This suggests that, from Kaitorete, the men had returned to Akaroa for a time and were going back to Eki’s place from there.

no-one knows where, the sun (only in the summer and for an hour at most, on the longest days) is sometimes reluctantly reflected.

Its bed is clogged with grasses. The plants found on its banks are without colour or perfume. They flower only rarely and never fruit.

In this great half-open coffin even rats themselves cannot live, and birds, flying over, lose their voice.

No melody, not even a mournful one, in this sombre and desolate place. In the grass, not the sound of an insect. In the air, not a sigh from the wind.

For light, an eternal shadow: and for atmosphere, sadness.

The heart grows tight entering there.

All that needs air to live grows ill there, and sterile.

The seeds which chance blows there sprout stunted vegetation. The animals which wander there languish immediately and soon die. The hardy crawling eel alone, although it grows blind in the attempt,³⁰⁸ finds the means to subsist there.

The Maori, who come every year to fish it, take care to arrive in good numbers, in order to be not overly afraid.

It was to surprise them at their work, and to visit Eki's grotto, that we chose this route.

For the fishing, we were too late! As for the grotto, we saw it. It was a simple recess in the rock, well masked by trees. We had difficulty in finding it. It was already damaged.

In the rock a man had been very roughly carved, half squatting, on a woman's head. The latter, squatting in the same manner, was supported by a disc and this disc was itself supported by a man, also squatting.

The sexual organs were so accentuated that no mistake was possible.³⁰⁹

What did this image represent?³¹⁰ The history of Banks Peninsula; which my master relayed to me on the way, as Eki had told it to him:

"The father of all the Maori,³¹¹ after fishing up his land, placed his wife and children there. They were living there peacefully enough when their evil spirit or genie arrived.

This was a fearsome giant who was tempted by Maui's islands. He wanted to eat his children and, moreover, coveted his wife.

Maui, as powerful as he was brave, vanquished this terrible enemy, threw him to the bottom of the sea and placed many mountains over him. Thus began the peninsula.

³⁰⁸ Blind-eels (hagfish or tuere) are "found all around New Zealand from shallow water down to over 1000m but are more common in cooler southern areas" (Ayling, *Collins Guide to Sea Fishes of New Zealand*, 1982, p.39).

³⁰⁹ Foley will have seen examples of wooden tekoteko, of which, apart from the disc element, this is a fair description. He does not make the mistake of calling it an idol. "This absence of all carved gods among the New Zealanders appeared to me a very attractive trait in their national character. They are too much the children of nature, and perhaps too intellectual, to adore wooden images" (Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1843, I, 391; *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, p.116).

³¹⁰ The ancestral figures of a tekoteko do have stories connected with them. Some of these stories refer to separate elements of the tekoteko and some are represented by the whole tekoteko in the graphic way in which Foley describes.

³¹¹ Foley promotes Maui to a position which he did not, in fact, hold. Polack, after spending seven years in New Zealand, makes the same mistake: "Mawi is accounted as father of the gods" (*New Zealand*, 1838, II, 227).

The genie, frozen by the cold, kept still during the winter. But with the return of summer, he became warm and moved.

The land immediately opened up and the sea poured straight into the fissure. Akaroa's Bay was formed.

Maui rushed up, carrying new mountains, and heaped them over his enemy again.

During the winter, again, he lay quietly. But, by moving again the following summer, he created a new breach which the sea, entering, formed into Pigeon Bay. Then Maui began again.

The following springtime, the genie moved and made another fissure where water formed the small lake. Maui, furious, tripled the load on top of his defeated enemy who, since then has never been able (though moving each springtime) to do more than make the earth quake a little; but without splitting it. Thus was the peninsula completed.³¹²

Maui died long after; then his wife; then his children.

Their souls all flew off into the heavens where Maui, fishing, caught the moon. They made their home there.

In his turn the giant died. His soul, arriving in the sky, recommenced his combat with Maui who defeated him, there as on the earth, and placed his new island on top of him.

Unable to move, he gnaws at it and then swallows it in revenge. Thus, little by little, it grows smaller and disappears.

It disappears? But it chokes him, being too large to digest. To gain some relief he brings it up again. It is this which makes it reappear.

The earthly exploits of heroes they re-enact in the heavens. By these signs do they remind mankind that it must always emulate them."

'This fable,' I said to my dear master, 'is equal to that of Apollo's chariot.'³¹³

'And that of the rainbow,³¹⁴ also,' he replied; 'all of these myths are equally powerful and are dictated by the same spirit.

The ideas of man are formed following invariable laws. His brain is everywhere the same. It is in seeing, at the same periods, the same objects and the same actions recurring that he has the same conceptions.³¹⁵

Silence, darkness, death and the soul (vague, melancholy concepts) have something in common. Eyes and stars shine. The departed haunt the night. It is by the stars that they see. Maui and the giant, New Zealand and the moon (islands in the sea and in

³¹² This may be an authentic, and so-far unrecorded legend from the Banks Peninsula area or it may simply be a variation of a common classical theme such as when Athene killed Enceladus. See pp.219-20 and 338-40, *supra*.

³¹³ Apollo drove a flaming chariot across the sky each day carrying the sun.

³¹⁴ They may have been speaking of Iris, the Greek goddess of the rainbow, who was believed to charge the clouds with water from lakes and rivers, so that the rain might fall and fertilise and refresh the land.

³¹⁵ In this, as in the following paragraphs, Foley is once more emphasizing the similarity, if not the sameness, of human ideas, institutions and of humanity itself.

the heavens) are things which go together; they say: *continual battle*.³¹⁶ This is the Maori belief.

They explain the facts of space and of time, the movements of the stars and men, by the only things which they know: their own customs. Those who worshipped Jupiter (destroyer of Saturn, that cannibal of the old world) reasoned no differently.³¹⁷

The heavens relate the glories of man. Unchanging, inaccessible to all, they are the book of the past. They preserve, intact, the events of the earth and the secrets confided in them. All people, whether entire races or individual children, while they are more capable of feeling than of thought, place their memories there; and, having become adult, forget their pains in the worship of this beautiful icon,³¹⁸ sweet confidant of their youth.'

Speaking thus, we had left the grotto and traversed all of its valley. Having arrived at the top of the hill which separates it from the great lake we stopped once more, to see a strange spectacle.

SACRED WORK

In a luminous mist, where continually rolling clouds distorted everything as they moved, in an atmosphere thick and smelling of burnt leaves and fat; twenty or so Maori, separated by piles of both branches and eels, ceaselessly formed and deformed a small circle around a fire.³¹⁹

In their centre four massive and heavy posts (with a fifteen-inch notch cut out,³²⁰ because of rats) supported, ten feet from the earth, a screen or hurdle forming a broad platform under which were hanging, jammed closely together, quantities of dead eels where the smoke was at its thickest.

On the platform above, sometimes crawling, sometimes in another attitude, human silhouettes circulated.

To the sides there were others, climbing up or down on long, sloping beams.³²¹

³¹⁶ The battles between Tane and Tangaroa are seen in exactly these terms in Foley's translation of Grey: "Tous ces combats divins, sources des nôtres, nos poèmes religieux les chantent!" (*Quatre années en Océanie*, 1866, I, 270).

³¹⁷ Foley is probably speaking in general: comparing early European myths with those of the Maori at a similar stage of development. At a "fetishistic" stage, humans explain various phenomena by the fabrication of supernatural beings or gods who cause these phenomena by their actions which often mirror or even interact with human society (Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, IV, 533-4).

³¹⁸ Foley here uses the word *fétiche*. This is the stage referred to above. It evolves into polytheism, monotheism and, lastly, science.

³¹⁹ This would have been on Te Marokura, Birdlings Flat.

³²⁰ An engraving of a storehouse by Foley's friend, Charles Meryon, entitled *Greniers indigènes et habitations à Akaroa*, shows these cut-outs clearly (Ducros, *Charles Meryon*, 1968, plate 51).

³²¹ If this is from an actual observation it would have been an unusually solid structure. More usually eels were described as being smoked on light-weight frames reached from the ground.

In this artificial cloud; the smoke, heat and fatigue very frequently made all these forms groan and twist themselves bizarrely as they crashed into each other coming and going, criss-crossing in all directions.

Curses of annoyance, cries of joy, comments both mocking and complimentary, all sonorously and gutturally uttered, mixed together around the fire, in the continually rolling vapours of green wood and burnt oil.

Everyone was constantly changing their position and occupation in this diabolic kitchen, where sight, taste and smell were tortured in turn.

Dead fish and living men! All were twisting, all were crying out: the eels as they dried; the men as they tried to see and breathe; the fire was crying out for oil; the green wood so as not to burn.

Working like a child, both in play yet intensely, each prepared his fish.

No sooner done than it was hung up.

It was too low down or too high up. They had to go up and then down, back up then back down again, all through the cries and the gestures of the workers. All criticised or mocked each other, but none helped another.

Man or woman, infant or old man, each, working on his own account,³²² wiped dry, split and opened, then spread and spitted, then finally threaded his eel to take it to the great dryer, where the smoke, the sun and the wind came to aid these workers in curing their provisions.

The work was done quickly. It was hot. All had to be done in one day. Putrefaction was beginning. Moreover—it was sacred work.

Sacred work!

Thus it is that man is everywhere the same. To conquer his improvidence whilst taming his greed; to prevent himself dying of indigestion in the present and of hunger in the future, divine intervention is necessary.

Thanks to Tapu, all went well. The work finished with the day.

Then people began to eat; then to laugh, chat and smoke; and then, at last, to retire.

EKI IN THE HEAVENS

Our good hosts, the Maori, have all retired to rest. We find ourselves alone on the shore.

³²² Such work was more likely to have been done as a group. Because of the confusion described, it may be that Foley was simply mistaken in this.

Were we right to have stayed so long by the small lake? ... to examine Eki's grotto in such detail? ... to watch the Maori preserving their eels? ... and to put off, until the morrow, our visit to our friend?

These questions remain unanswered. We ask them without thinking further, both of us gazing at the beach, almost in a dream

... The last light of day dims. Forms become indistinct. Mystery spreads all about! The pure sky becomes enriched with stars. Delicious night commences.

The stars lend the night their light, pale, gentle and silent; ... the earth, its slow and warm breath; ... the sea, its distant lapping of the waves; ... the seaweeds, their exotic perfumes.

Sonorous, fragrant waves, ... warm and almost luminous, sway harmoniously through the indistinctness of the atmosphere; and ... cradled by them, everything languishes, everything drifts into sleep ... into a sweet sleep.

Why are only we two awake? Why has that sweet nocturnal murmur (the prelude to that happy repose attained by air, earth and water) so little dominion over us?

Like a plaintive and distant chant ... dictated by the heart ... but whose verses ... effaced by distance ... leave thought undecided between hope and regret; the melody which surrounds us swings our oscillating souls between joy and sadness.

We are returning to a friend!

Shall we find her still alive, in pain and misery? Or will she, at long last, be dead; delivered from her sufferings?

Shall we have to pity her, tomorrow?

Tomorrow, shall we have to weep for her?

Questions best left unresolved; the good and the bad in them depending so much on the answer.

It is thus that my master and I, eyes turned to the heavens, passed from one idea to another as our eyes move from star to star, without stopping at any and, as with them, without finding the most beautiful.

The celestial procession advances. The moon comes to take her place. At her approach some stars dim and seem to humble themselves. It is as if they were saluting their queen!

She, calm, grand and majestic, rises from the bosom of the calm sea and casts her beams onto its crystal waters.

They glide swiftly to the shore and come to softly kiss the earth, without awakening it.

Night appears only more lovely!

We marvel!

For a short moment our sadness is suspended, and our souls fall back into their sweet melancholy.

.....

The stars continued their march. Three large stars showed themselves (one at first, then two together) on the horizon.³²³ Below the most brilliant a lesser one and, under the others, two more came, as Eki had said.

Our eyes and thoughts followed.

‘Will the seventh ...?’

It appeared.

‘Eki is dead!’³²⁴

Thus should we have cried out at the same time had not, behind us, heavy and hurried footsteps been heard.

‘Hush,’ said my master. ‘It is Tamakeke! We must not move.’

The savage continues on his way. He comes toward us, we await him.

As soon as he is within our reach we stand up. But, quickly, he throws himself on his stomach and crawls off towards the high grasses of the great lake.

In vain! My master lifts him up and says:

‘I believed you to be as brave at night as during the day, Tamakeke?’³²⁵

‘Me!’ he replied, pulling himself together. ‘I am not afraid! But my treasure?...’

My master replied:

‘Your treasure or mine, thief! Who knows, perhaps?...’

If you do not fear the spirits which haunt this plain in the night; at least fear the Akaroas.

See Eki; and see her child!

See her husband; and see her father!

See their seven immortal souls which guide two avenging friends towards an unfaithful messenger.’

Tamakeke, more dead than alive, let fall the red coffer and disappeared.

LAST DUTIES

It is very early morning. There is a thick mist. We leave to bury Eki.

Tamakeke leads the way. The Maori follow. My master and I follow them.

The procession, in single file, slowly rounds the great lake. It is the women who slow it down.

They are loaded down with wood, provisions and the necessities for a funeral festival.

The men, free of all burden, to relieve the women a little deign to match their pace.³²⁶

³²³ The Pleiades appearing on the horizon would have placed the scene in October (Thomsen, *Southern Hemisphere Stars*, 1961, p.54).

³²⁴ At a tangihanga a speaker might well speak to the deceased, even today, and say, “Kua wheturangitia koe”, meaning that he has now become a star (Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, 1985, p.69).

³²⁵ The Maori were afraid of the spirits abroad in the night and seldom travelled about then.

³²⁶ Men could not carry anything on their backs, which were very tapu. Only women—or slaves, of course—could do this. “The men hunt, fish, build the houses, construct canoes and work in the

They chat, they laugh, they weep or sing some verses for the deceased. In brief, they act as well as they can; and make the effort to be sad.

My master speaks very quietly to me. He tells me of Eki's misfortunes, of her great courage, her knowledge and above all her great kindness. Then he speaks to me of the Maori; urges me not to be offended by their ways which, always, shock at first; he points out that they are like those animals, plants and almost all beings which a powerful civilisation has not yet disarmed;³²⁷ and, finally, congratulates me on having been so tenderly loved by Eki that, inevitably, I must have loved her in return.

Savages are big children, much stronger (sadly for them!) physically than mentally. To believe, from their size and age, that they can reason as adults do is to condemn all that they do, to suspect all that they say, to detest them unjustly and thereby prevent oneself, because of that, from understanding their customs. For hate always blinds.

This was the theme that my dear and venerable master outlined for me.

Speaking in this way, we moved along.
Suddenly the convoy stopped.
'Moas and Taipos!' cried the dismayed Maori.
We look; my heart beats faster!

In the mist, already less dense; I see birds (real giants!) coming and going, gliding and whirling all around Eki's hut; and I stop, terror-stricken.

'A ball in each barrel,' said my master, without stopping.
I obey, like a machine, but without daring to budge from where I stood.
Then he, in his turn, stops and begins to laugh, seeing me quite petrified, and, shaming me, drags me along.

'Come,' he said, 'the mist is tricking you as it has all these Maori. The monsters which cause you so much fear are nothing more than birds of prey³²⁸—the mist and your astonishment have exaggerated their dimensions. Thanks to Maopo, dogs, here, are all there is to fear; and they, too, will flee.
Let us go!'

I follow him. The Maori stay.

We advance. We even run, hearing an indistinct noise.

garden; but they would rather die than carry their provisions; the women carry all the burdens" (McNab, *Murihiku*, 1909, p.326). Pragmatism could change this, of course (Polack, *New Zealand*, 1838, II, 260).

³²⁷ Foley's belief, again, that mankind was divided into three types—the vegetative, the physically active and the mentally active. Civilization resulted from and contributed to progress through these stages.

³²⁸ Neither the Harrier Hawk nor the New Zealand Falcon—New Zealand's only birds of prey—are likely to have behaved in such a manner. This seems an uncharacteristic fabrication designed to add a further element of drama to the story.

The further we go, the more numerous the rats that scurry between our legs; the clearer the cries become; the more we see the high grasses, the stalks and leaves of flax waving about wildly; the clearer we hear dogs howling, the larger and faster the huge flocks of birds of prey (from the earth, the shore and the sea) also become as they rise up in a whirling cloud, crowning the hut of poor Eki.

We advance as fast as we can; ...
we arrive; ... too late, alas!
Blood, hair, tatters of Maori clothing soil the floor.
Where is Eki?

The grasses, still parted, show us the path that the raptors had taken.
We run, we follow them, we all but touch them when we are stopped by a cursed water course, and all our efforts are lost.

Poor Eki is dragged off, floating on the water, by eager dogs.
'Fire!' cried my master.
The pack of dogs dives and disappears.
The body loses its speed, hesitates a little, and sinks below the surface.³²⁹

We wait. Nothing returns to the surface. Stunned, we retrace our steps.

.....

The vampires of the air have gone. Those of the earth have disappeared. The grasses are all upright again. The great lake has regained its calm, its silence and its majesty! The Maori, keen to flee, weep and chant as they go. Only their voices come to rejoin ours at that already ruined domain.

'Farewell, poor, primitive resting place!
Farewell, pitiful palisade!
Forlorn hut, in tatters, farewell!'

*A savage's voice,*³³⁰ *coming from afar—*'Is Eki dead?'

Another voice—'Eki is no more!'

Choir of Maori voices—'Eki is dead, Eki is no more! Let her field, her palisade and her hut also be tabooed!'

'Farewell, heap of miserable mud, whose unformed mass sheltered the wisest and best of the Maori world.

Last refuge of misfortune that the waters, the plants and the beasts will rush to destroy; farewell for the last time!'

³²⁹ A remote possibility is that Foley may have had something like the following burial practice in mind: "At Taumutu there is a *tapu* spring called *Wai-whakaheke-tupapaku*, and here the corpse, weighted with heavy stones, was sunk" (Tikao, *Tikao Talks*, 1990, p.150).

³³⁰ Foley's use of the word "sauvage" here, as in the title of the chapter "The Savage Orgy" ("L'orgie sauvage") I have taken to mean "savage" as referring to the Maori—perhaps the most common term used at the time.

The voices, then the choir further off—’The Taipos have carried her body off to the heart of the snow-covered mountains!

The Moas have guided her soul amongst its sisters, the stars, to the group of the Akaroas!

The monsters, vanquished by her father, have remained faithful to her voice!

The birds and the wild dogs have savaged your poor body. The fish will consume it. But your soul will survive it, in noble and generous hearts.³³¹

Young girls will invoke it; it will console poor mothers; devoted women will bless it.’

The distance making all fainter—’The daughter-in-law of the Magnanimous is dead! Who will defend us from the moas?

The daughter of Maopo is no more! Who will guard us from the taipos?

Who, now, will save us from both taipos and moas?’

‘You have taught me of the suffering of those who lived before us.

You have made me dream of the happiness of those who must succeed us.’

‘Past and future, you have made us communicate with all of humanity.’

The distance making it fainter still —’The daughter of Maopo is no more! Who will drive away the sons of the north?

The daughter-in-law of the Magnanimous is dead! Who will repel the people of the south?

Who, now, will save us from the children of the heat and the cold?³³²

‘Through you I have understood the happiness I should have enjoyed, being a father.’

‘Through you I have felt the delights with which my mother would have showered me.’

‘You have confirmed, in both of us, the need to devote ourselves to the service of others.’³³³

Sounds scarcely perceptible—’Akaroa’s wife is dead! Who will make Tikao afraid?

Akaroa’s mother is no more! Who will drive off strangers?

Who, now, will save us from enemies from the interior ... and, above all, who will preserve us from the thunder of the Papalangis?³³⁴

‘Eki, placed by your virtues in the bosom of humanity (where your soul will plead the cause of your more-than-oppressed brothers), pray that this great master of the earth might accord to your two friends a constancy equal to your own.’

³³¹ This, and the succeeding references to “humanity”, are central to the message of the work. Positivists used the word “Humanity” to refer to the whole body of past, present and future people that they judged worthy. These lived on “chacun [...] dans le cœur et l’esprit d’autrui” (Comte, *Catéchisme positiviste*, in *Œuvres*, 1968-71, XI, 66-8).

³³² These are, respectively, Ngati Toa—Te Rauparaha’s people—from the north, and Ngati Mamoe and other Kai Tahu hapu from the south.

³³³ This is the two, speaking together. The Positivist call to altruism is being made here.

³³⁴ Guns—but the Maori by Foley’s time (and well before) were, in fact, very much less frightened of guns than they were desirous of obtaining them.

Finally, like a last farewell that grief itself had cut short—'Akaroas! When all seven of you come, at night, to visit your beautiful great lake; bring Maui with you; so that he ... might ...'

Distance absorbed the rest.

APPENDIX

THE FOLEY FAMILY

Edmond Foley, born in County Waterford, enlisted in 1720 in the Nugent and then FitzJames Irish Regiments in France, fought at Fontenoy (1745), was promoted to Lieutenant, and died 24 January 1755 in the Hôtel des Invalides, Paris. No other connection has been found between him and the following generations, apart from the evidence found in the opening section of *Eki*.

Foley's great-grandparents' generation:

Edmond Folet [sic], mulquinier, marchand de toile, born c. 1720, married Marguerite Carlier, lived in St Quentin (Aisne) at least from 1754 until his death there 4/1/1772, aged about 52 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).¹ Marguerite is called Marie Marguerite towards the end of her life. Her uncle, Michel Carlier, was, like her husband, a mulquinier in St Quentin.

Foley's grandparents' generation:

Edmond Folet and Marguerite Carlier had the following children:

Marie Marguerite, born c.1752, married Charles Louis Dollé in St Quentin 20/1/1777 when she was aged 24 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).

Laurent Edmond, bijoutier, born in St Quentin (Aisne) 31/1/1754 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 287 R16), died in Paris 23/4/1816 'aged 64' (5 Mi 1/1183); and Marie Louise Emélie Dufour, died in Paris 5/8/1823 (5 Mi 1/1206).

Charles Louis, born St Quentin (Aisne) 1/2/1757 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1242), died 5/2/1758 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).

Claude Benjamin, born St Quentin (Aisne) 11/4/1759, died there 3/4/1767 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).

Antoine, born St Quentin 13/8/1763 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).

Jacques Pierre Edmond, born St Quentin (Aisne) 25/5/1768 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1243).

¹ AD (Aisne): Archives départementales de l'Aisne. References that do not specify the department are to the Archives départementales de Paris.

Foley's parents' generation:

Antoine Edouard's father, **Thomas Edmond Foley**, bijoutier, was born in Reims (Marne) on 22/1/1786, the eldest son of Laurent Edmond Foley and Marie Louise Emélie Dufour. His parents went back to St Quentin 1793-1797, before shifting to Paris. He married **Anne Marguerite Virginie Charpentier** (born in Paris 17/9/1797, daughter of Laurent Charpentier and Anne Madeleine Thevenon) on 27/5/1816 in the bride's home town of Soisy-sous-Etiolle (Seine-et-Oise; now Essonne) (AD de l'Essonne: 5 Mi 169/2). He died in Marly-le-Roy (Seine-et-Oise, now Yvelines) 1/2/1867, aged 81. His wife died there a few months later, 11/5/1867, aged 69 (AD Yvelines: 5 Mi 902).

Thomas Edmond's siblings included:

Pierre Joseph Symphorien, bijoutier, born 1787. Witnessed his father's death certificate 9/4/1816, aged 28 (5 Mi 1/1183). Died in Belleville, Paris 5/12/1852 aged 65, married (5 Mi 1/1445).

Égalité, born St Quentin (Aisne) 12/12/1793 (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1252), married Alexandre Charles Geoffroy in Paris 16/10/1819 at St Nicolas-des-Champs church. She died in Marly-le-Roy (Seine-et-Oise) 19/8/1872, aged 79 (AD Yvelines: 5 Mi 902).

Victor, born 22 Thermidor an III [9/8/1795] in St Quentin (Aisne) (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1252), bijoutier, married in Paris 7^e, 22/4/1824 (5 Mi 1/5049) Louise Adèle Jumel, born Andeville (Oise) 16 Fructidor an XII [3/9/1804]. They had a large family.

Louis Baptiste, born St Quentin (Aisne) 10 Germinal an V [30/3/1797], died 21 Germinal an V [10/4/1797] (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1253).

Charles Casimir, born St Quentin (Aisne) 30/3/1797, died there 21 Germinal an V [10/4/1797]. (AD Aisne: 5 Mi 1253)

Foley and his siblings:

Edmond Louis, born 20/2/1817 (Archives de Paris: 5 Mi 1/191). This is the brother Antoine Édouard goes to visit in Algiers some time between 1849 and 1855 (Geffroy, p.41). Edmond Louis is the author of a medical thesis, Paris, 1842: *Questions sur diverses branches des sciences médicales*. The *Histoire statistique de la colonisation algérienne au point de vue du peuplement et de l'hygiène*, is by A-E-Victor Martin and L-E Foley, médecin à l'hôpital civil d'Alger. Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut de France et imprimé par ordre du ministre de la guerre. Paris: Germer-Baillièrre; Alger: Dubos frères, 1851. His son, Edmond Antoine, born in Algiers 24/6/1853, also a doctor, wrote a thèse de médecine, *Etude sur la statistique de la morgue 1851-1879*. Paris: Faculté de médecine, 1880, which is dedicated to the memory of his father and mother, and to "M. le docteur Edouard Foley, à M. F. Bourdoux, à Mesdames Foley et Bourdoux, à mes amis".

Anne Augustine, born 8/1/1818 (5 Mi 1/197). She married 6/5/1837 (5 Mi 1/5111) Christophe Louis Claude Angelar, négociant, born 10 Brumaire 1799.

Antoine Édouard, born 30/3/1820 (5 Mi 1/213), married 13/9/1856 (5 Mi 1/5347) Sara Léontine Jullien, who was born in Metz (Moselle) 29/4/1834, daughter of Saint-Cyr Hercule Horace Alphonse Jullien and Anne Sophie Berger. He died in Andrésey (Seine-et-Oise) 25/11/1901. Sara died in 1904. Both are buried in the Andrésey cemetery.

Félix Victor, passementier in Paris and then inspecteur au Crédit Foncier de France, Alger, born 28/1/1824 (5 Mi 1/259); married in Paris 26/10/1853 Marie Aglaé Adélaïde Maillard; father of Paul André Félix, born in Paris 26/9/1854 (5 Mi 1/827), baptised St Ambroise 28/9/1854, a pupil at the Ecole d'Agriculture de Grignon in 1873.

Louise Léontine, born 4/1/1830 (5 Mi 1/343). She married on 19/10/1850 (5 Mi 1/5247) Antoine Félix Bourdoux, négociant, born 29/3/1819 in Soissons (Aisne).

Elisabeth Jeanne, born 24/6/1831 (5 Mi 1/363); baptised St-Nicolas-des-Champs 25/6/1831, with Antoine Édouard as her godfather; married Paris 2^e 26/2/1851 (5 Mi 1/5252) Eugène Carlian.

Foley's children:

Marguerite Sophie Antoinette, born Mantes-la-Jolie (Seine et Oise) 8 November 1857 (AD Yvelines: 5 MI 1747)

Sarah Madelaine, born Mantes-la-Jolie (Seine et Oise) 26 juin 1859 (AD Yvelines: 5 MI 1747)

Madeleine Charles Auguste, born in Paris 8^e 9/1/1861 (5 Mi 3/657), prolific writer, died 27/2/1956 in Paris 10^e at the Maison de Santé Dubos, buried in the Andrésey cemetery.

Alphonse Edouard Léon, born in Paris 9^e 24/6/1862 (5 Mi 3R/676), died 20/7/1862 (5 Mi 3R/677).

Alfred Léon Thomas, born Paris 9^e 4/12/1863 (5 Mi 3R/678)

Aurélié Félicie Rosalie, born Paris 8^e 23/2/1865 (5 Mi 3/663), died 1926, buried in the Andrésey cemetery.

Adolphe René Edme (aka Saint-Elme), born Paris 9^e, 28/3/1867 (5 Mi 3/685), married in Paris 6^e 18/11/1899 Amélie Marie Anne Risler; went to live in Baden Baden, where his artist daughter, Amélie Foley-Risler was born.

Suzanne Marie Jouvence, born Paris 8^e 27/3/1869 (5 Mi 3/669); married in Andrésey 30/9/1890 Charles Albert Adet; died Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 23/10/1949.

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